REFLECTIONS ON THE GOVERNMENT OF INDOSTAN.

WITH A SHORT SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF BENGAL, FROM MDCCXXXVIIII TO MDCCLVI;

AND AN ACCOVNT OF THE ENGLISH AFFAIRS TO MDCCLVIII:

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REFLECTIONS ON THE GOVERNMENT OF INDOSTAN. ETC.

LETTER I

Sir,

In obedience to your repeated commands, I am now ſet down to give you ſuch an account of the revolutions in Bengal, as my memory and the papers I have by me will enable me: But, firſt, I find it neceſſary to give you ſome account of the religion, cuſtoms, policy, and government of the native Indians, and their conquerors the Mahometans; that, being familiarized to them, you may ſee the principles on which they act, and that the whole may appear a natural chain of events. I then propoſe to give you the hiſtory of Bengal, prior to the acceſſion of Cheraujee al Dowla; and, laſtly, the account of the unhappy cataſtrophe of all the company's ſettlements there, and of the ſeveral intereſting events that followed. You muſt not expect a graceful diction, and ornamented ſtile: I pretend to no other merit than a ſtrict adherence to truth, and ſuch obſervations as are the reſult of much converſation and intercourſe with the natives.

Firſt, of the religion and cuſtoms of the native Indians, whom I ſhall call Gentoos, agreeable to the common pronunciation. They pretend, that Brumma, the founder of their religion, was a being of ſo exalted a nature, as to be inferior only to GOD himſelf: of infinite knowledge, and all his words were truth. From the conduct of mankind, as recorded in the hiſtories of other countries, I incline to think, this Brumma was one of thoſe great geniuſes, which Providence, from time to

time, beſtows on mankind for the improvement of their happineſs: ſuch were Confucius, Zoroaſter, and I might add Peter the Great, who, had he appeared in a leſs enlightened age, would, I doubt not, when time had caſt a veil over his failings, have been as much revered among the Ruſſians, as theſe men were in their reſpective nations. They date the exiſtence of Brumma many thouſand years beyond our account of the creation. Poſſibly their chronology is no better founded than that of the Chineſe; yet they have undoubted claims to remote antiquity; for the earlieſt accounts we have of them, repreſent them as cultivating all the uſeful arts in great perfection; and to judge by their ſlow progreſs among us, this ſeems to be the work of ages. Perhaps theſe eaſtern countries, peopled in the infancy of the world, never degenerated into that ſtate of barbariſm in which we were ſo long involved; the ſoil and climate were propitious to mankind, and the mind was a ſtranger to the fiercer paſſions, which aroſe from the ſtimulating neceſſities of our more northern climates. The Bramins ſay, that Brumma, their law-giver, left them a book, called the Vidam, which contains all his doctrines and inſtitutions. Some ſay the original language in which it was wrote is loſt, and that at preſent they only poſſeſs a comment thereon, called the Shahſtah, which is wrote in the Sanſcrit language, now a dead language, and known only to the Bramins who ſtudy it. In this they are taught to believe in one ſupreme Being, who has created a regular gradation of beings, ſome ſuperior, and ſome inferior to man: in the immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, which is to conſiſt of a tranſmigration into different bodies, according to the lives they have led in their pre-exiſtent ſtate. This is all I know of their doctrine on theſe two important ſubjects; and this is believed by the moſt learned of the Bramins. But, from an

an opinion that sensible objects were necessary to make this intelligible to the vulgar, these doctrines have been taught in allegory: hence images were made of the supreme Being, according to the particular attribute they would express; his power, by an image with many hands and swords, his wisdom by an elephant's head, and so for the rest: and this is the principal source of all idolatry; for the explanation being lost, in process of time the images became themselves the objects of their worship; and as the knowledge of the Sanscrit language is confined to a few of the most learned Bramins, these alone possess the magic lanthorn, from which they reflect what objects they please; and though all the Gentoos of the continent, from Lahore to Cape Comorin, agree in acknowledging the Vidam, yet they have greatly varied in the corruptions of it: and hence different images are worshipped in different parts; and the first simple truth of an omnipotent Being is lost in the absurd worship of a multitude of images, which, at first, were only symbols to represent his various attributes. This is all I shall venture to say on their doctrinal points; but their customs are reckoned part of their religion, being sanctified by the supposed divine character of their legislator. If conjectures are permitted, I should suppose, that Brumma was king, as well as legislator, over all the continent of India, and that the chief points he had in view, were, to attach the people of India to their own country, and to render sacred whatever customs he thought necessary to be observed in such a climate: Hence their veneration for the three great rivers which water all the country, the Indus, the Kistnah, and the Ganges; and hence also their veneration for the cow, a creature most essentially necessary in a country where milk is the most wholesome food, and where oxen are so useful in cultivating the land. But the custom which distinguishes the Indians from the

the reſt of mankind, is the diviſion of the natives into tribes.

The four principal tribes, are the Bramins, Soldiers, Labourers, and Mechanics. Theſe are again ſubdivided into a multiplicity of inferior diſtinctions. There are Bramins of various degrees of excellence, who have the care of religion allotted to them. Theſe are held ſacred by the reſt: they ſwear by their heads; they kiſs their feet; and the Bramins have the entire government of their minds; and ſuch as do not follow any worldly purſuits, are ſupported by the reſt, which is a great burden upon the land. It is difficult to draw a general character of the Bramins, as they vary ſo much in their purſuits, and in their degrees of knowledge. Some I have converſed with, acknowledge the errors that have crept into their religion, own one ſupreme Being, laugh at the idolatry of the multitude, but inſiſt upon the neceſſity of working upon the weakneſſes of the vulgar, and will admit of no doubt of the divine character of their legiſlator. Talk to them of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, they ſay, "They believe it is all very true; but that God "has given different laws, and ordered different forms "of worſhip for different nations, and has preſcribed "them theirs, which their forefathers have practiſed for "many thouſand years, and they have no reaſon to doubt "its being acceptable." For this reaſon they admit no converts, nor are themſelves ever converted, whatever the Roman miſſionaries may pretend; except indeed the Hallachores, of whom I ſhall ſpeak hereafter, who are glad to be received into a ſociety where they are treated as fellow-creatures. But I much doubt whether there ever was an inſtance of any other of the Indians being converted by the miſſionaries; and even theſe do no honour to the Chriſtian religion, for as far as my obſervation has reached, theſe half Chriſtians are the moſt abandoned

profligate

profligate wretches of the human ſpecies. But to return to the Bramins, ſome few there are, who, verſed in their learned languages, ſoar above the vulgar; but the generality are as ignorant as the laity. Such who are not engaged in worldly purſuits, are a very moral ſuperſtitious innocent people, who promote charity as much as they can to man and beaſt; but ſuch who engage in the world are generally the worſt of all the Gentoos; for, perſuaded the waters of the Ganges will purify them from their ſins, and being exempted from the utmoſt rigour of the courts of juſtice, under the Gentoo governments, they run into the greateſt exceſſes.

The Soldiers are commonly called Rajah-poots.* Theſe inhabit chiefly the northern provinces. And it is from hence I conjecture, that the founder of their religion was alſo king of the whole continent, and that he ſent off this tribe to govern the reſt; for in all the ſouthern provinces, the reſt of the inhabitants are quite black; and the family that govern, are a fair-complexioned people, of the colour of thoſe of the northern provinces. Theſe Rajah-poots are much more robuſt than the reſt, have a great ſhare of courage, and a nice ſenſe of military honour, which conſiſts, among them, in fidelity to thoſe they ſerve. Fighting is their profeſſion, and they readily enter into the ſervice of any that will pay them, and will follow wherever he leads; but as ſoon as their leader falls in battle, their cauſe is at an end, and they run off the field without any ſtain to their reputation.

The Labourers are next in rank. This tribe includes farmers, and all who cultivate the land. And the mechanics include merchants, bankers, and all who follow any trade. Theſe again are ſub-divided into each profeſſion. And now I muſt mention the Hallachores, whom I cannot call a tribe, being rather the refuſe of all the

* Perſons *deſcended from Rajahs.*

tribes. Theſe are a ſet of poor unhappy wretches, deſtined to miſery from their birth. They perform all the vileſt offices of life, bury the dead, and carry away every thing that is polluted. They are held in ſuch abomination, that on the Malabar ſide of India, if they chance to touch one of a ſuperior tribe, he draws his ſabre, and cuts him down on the ſpot, without any check, either from his own conſcience, or from the laws of the country. How the legiſlator could let ſuch an injuſtice enter into his ſyſtem, I can no otherways account for, than by his ſuppoſing a neceſſity of a regular gradation; and that he was obliged to ſacrifice a portion of his people, to preſerve the purity, or that wherein he defined purity to conſiſt, of the reſt. All the different tribes are kept diſtinct from each other, by inſurmountable barriers. They are forbid to intermarry, to cohabit, to eat with each other, or even to drink out of the ſame veſſel with one of another tribe; and every deviation in theſe points, ſubjects them to be rejected by their tribe, renders them for ever polluted, and they are thence-forward obliged to herd with the Hallachores.

It does not enter into my plan to give you a detail of all their religious follies and ceremonies; which, if you are curious, you may find amply deſcribed in Mr. Picart's collection of religious ceremonies. Let it ſuffice, that amidſt all their errors they agree in thoſe truths which form the harmony of the univerſe, that there is ONE SUPREME GOD, AND THAT HE IS BEST PLEASED BY CHARITY AND GOOD W . RKS. Their worſhip and ceremonies at the great temple of Jagernaut ſeem inſtituted to remind them of this; for there the Bramin, the Rajah, the labourer, and mechanic, all preſent their offerings, and eat and drink promiſcuouſly together, as if they would inſinuate, that all thoſe diſtinctions are of human invention, and that in the ſight of God all men are equal.

equal. This division into tribes has had two effects on the whole nation. It has occasioned such a disunion among them, as has always made them an easy prey to every invader; for no man thinks of defending himself, unless he is of the soldier's tribe: and hence it is, that the invaders, who, like Alexander, came in on the northern frontiers, inhabited mostly by Raja-Poots, have always met a very brave resistance, while those who came in from the sea, of which more hereafter, have met with very little. But it is the same distinction also, which has preserved the manufactures among them, maugre all the revolutions and all the oppressions introduced by the Mahometans; for while the son can follow no other trade than that of his father, the manufactures can be lost only by exterminating the people.

Their legislator has even ordained different kinds of food to the different tribes; but whether this was founded in policy, or in a real persuasion of the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, I will not pretend to say. The Bramins touch nothing that has life; their food is milk, vegetables and fruit; and if you shew them through a microscope the insects on a leaf, invisible to the naked eye, they say it is a deceit, that the objects are in the glass, not in the leaf. The soldiers are permitted to eat venison, mutton and fish. The labourers and mechanics are different according to their sects and professions; some are confined to milk and vegetables; others are permitted fish, but nothing further; the privilege of eating flesh is confined entirely to the soldiers, and in general, almost without exception, they are remarkable for a temperance that borders on abstemiousness. Another circumstance that contributes to form their general character, is, their marrying when infants; and yet no women are more remarkable for their conjugal fidelity, in which they are distinguished beyond the rest of their sex, by that remarkable

able cuſtom of burning with their huſbands. Many authors aſcribe this to have been inſtituted to prevent their wives poiſoning them; but I am well perſuaded, they often ſubmit to it from a nice ſenſe of honour and conjugal affection. Let it be conſidered, they are brought up together from their infancy; the woman has no opportunity of ever converſing with any other man; her affections are centered ſolely in this one object of her love; ſhe is firmly perſuaded, that by being burnt with him, ſhe ſhall be happy with him in another world; that if ſhe neglects this laſt token of affection, he may take another wife, and ſhe be ſeparated from him for ever. However falſe theſe principles, yet, if thoſe poor women are perſuaded they are true, you muſt allow they are powerful motives. No doubt they are likewiſe influenced by the diſgrace of ſurviving him; for they are then condemned to a perpetual widowhood, and from miſtreſs of the family, degraded to the ſtate of a menial ſervant. This affords but an unhappy proſpect; whereas, their burning themſelves is thought to reflect great honour to the family, and there is no doubt but the dying huſband recommends it to her in his laſt moments. Thus their minds raiſed to the utmoſt pitch by this ſtrange commotion of love, grief, and honour, they go through the terrible trial with amazing fortitude. The practice is far from common, and only complied with by thoſe of illuſtrious families. Nor is it on this occaſion only that the Gentoos meet death with fortitude. The men are equally ready to reſign their lives to preſerve their religious purity; of which we had laſt year a remarkable inſtance in three Bramins, who had their daughters forced from them by a Mahometan, beyond the reach of juſtice: they complained to the governor of the province, but finding no redreſs, they all ſwallowed poiſon, and died at the door of his tent. Alſo, when the

the forces came from Madrafs, by the unexpected length of the paffage, they were greatly reduced for provifions, infomuch that there was no rice left for the Gentoo feapoys*, and nothing to ferve out to them but beef and pork; but though fome did fubmit to this defilement, yet many preferred a languifhing death by famine to life polluted beyond recovery. The Mahometan governors often take advantage of this, when they want to extort money from them; and though they will bear the fevereft corporal punifhment, rather than difcover their money; yet, when once their religious purity is threatened, they comply, if the fum is in their power; if not, and the man is beloved by his tribe, they make a fubfcription to raife the money. Fortitude on thefe occafions is common to all of them, even thofe who in other dangers appear of moft daftardly fpiritlefs difpofitions. Such you fee is the force of principle, that it has preferved its efficacy through a feries of ages. And when we confider the dreadful penalties annexed to any deviations from what their religion ordains, we fhall ceafe to wonder at the little change that appears among the Indians, compared with the earlieft accounts we have of them.

There is no forming a general character for fo vaft a tract of country, extending from Cape Comorin in the latitude 6, to Lahore in 30. The whole of it is divided into little principalities, many of which being tainted with the diffolute manners of their conquerors, afford a variety of characters, differing according to the climate, the tribes and the government. But in juftice to the Gentoo religion and cuftoms, I muft fay, that, before the late wars between the French and us in the Carnatick country, which is chiefly divided into little Indian Rajahfhips, human nature in no part of the world afforded a finer fcene of contemplation to a philofophic mind: Every

* Natives difciplined like Europeans.

thing

thing feemed calculated to promote agriculture and manufactures.

The fruitfulnefs of thefe hot countries depending entirely on their being well watered, and the rainy feafon being here of very fhort duration, the prefervation of the water is a principal object: For which reafon the high lands are mounded in by great banks to collect the water that falls from the mountains; and thefe refervoirs are kept up by the government for the public benefit, every man paying for his portion of a drain. The roads are planted with rows of large trees, which add to the beauty of the country, and afford a pleafing and refrefhing fhade; and every two or three miles are ftone-buildings called Choultrys, for the convenience of travellers, who always find Bramins attending to furnifh them with water: And fo free is the country from robbers, that I doubt there having been an inftance of one in the memory of man. The diamond merchants, who generally pafs this country, have feldom even a weapon of defence, owing to that admirable regulation, which obliges the Lord of that fpot where the robbery is committed, to recover the effects, or make good the value. At the extremity of every town or village are large groves of trees, where the weavers carry on their manufactures, and, if the foil will admit, there is a handfome ftone refervoir, called a Tank.

In the capital of every confiderable diftrict is generally a large temple or pagoda, fome of them moft ftupendous buildings, all of ftone, the outfide from top to bottom adorned with little images, reprefenting the hiftories of their gods, and too often their amours, full as bad as any of the ancients. Thefe pagodas are generally built by the Rajahs, or rather by fucceffive generations of them, for fome of them appear to be the work of ages. They confift of feveral courts, which contain places

places for their idols, and apartments for their Bramins, of which there are ſome thouſands, who have generally the revenues of a tract of country aſſigned them for their ſupport.

The Bramins, who in other reſpects have perverted the doctrine of their founder, have however ſtrongly inculcated the virtue of charity, by teaching them how much it will contribute to their happy tranſmigration. Happily for the country they have grafted a vanity on this virtue, which promotes and extends its good effects. It is the height of their ambition to have a temple or choultry called after their name, and reflects more honour to their children, than if their parents had left them immenſe wealth.

What greater proof need we of the goodneſs of the government, than the immenſe revenue their country yields; many of the Gentoo provinces yield a revenue in proportion of extent of country equal to our richeſt countries in Europe; and yet, like us, they have no mines, but draw their wealth from the labour of their hands. Such was the Carnatic before it was ravaged by our late wars. And I have been told, that the Gentoos of the northern provinces ſtill preſerve the Gentoo purity and ſimplicity uncontaminated; but they indeed were never properly ſubdued: The ſucceſſors of Tamerlane made fierce and conſtant war upon them, but always met with a vigorous and brave reſiſtance, and were at laſt convinced it was better to have them as a kind of tributary allies than enemies. Ehbar Shah was the firſt who entered into a treaty with them; his example was followed by ſucceeding emperors; and they long proved an excellent barrier againſt the Afghuans and the northern Tartars: But when the emperors degenerated into lewd monſters and tyrants, they forſook their alliance, and thenceforward the empire was expoſed

to

to the invaſion of the Mharattas, the Perſians, and laſtly, of the Afghuans.

The moſt extenſive Gentoo government is that of the Mharattas, who have now almoſt overturned the whole empire, of which more when I come to ſpeak of their government and hiſtory. I ſhall only obſerve here, that they have vaſtly deviated from the true Gentoo character. The military ſpirit that has prevailed among them for the two laſt centuries, has utterly corrupted their manners; their manufactures are totally neglected; commerce is baniſhed; and their Rajahs have laid waſte their own country by their oppreſſion, almoſt as much as that of their enemies, while the generals of their army and their ſoldiery are grown immenſely rich by the plunder of more than half of the Mogul empire. There are a number of Rajahſhips interſperſed throughout India, which by the advantageous ſituation of the country, have either never been ſubdued, or are only tributary to the Mahometans, preſerving their own religion and laws: Such is the Rajahſhip of Tanjour, the Rajah of which two years ago repulſed the veterans of France, commanded by lieutenant-general Lally.

We read in ancient authors, that the Brachmans, who I incline to think were a ſet of philoſophers rather than the tribe of Bramins, excelled in aſtronomy, and were famed all over the world for their learning. It is very poſſible they had juſt pretenſions to that character; but in all theſe eaſtern countries, if any man poſſeſſes any ſecret of nature, he only conſiders how he ſhall make uſe of it to delude the ignorant multitude, and attract their veneration; and therefore the key of the Arcana is truſted to very few. For example, I was amazed to ſee, that the Bramins could foretel an eclipſe; and yet aſk them the nature of it, and they tell you an abſurd ſtory of a dragon laying hold of the ſun, and they teach the people

people to run into the river and make all the noife they can, which they perfuade them will frighten the dragon away. This led me to enquire into it, and I found that they are poffeffed of a lift of eclipfes calculated for fome thoufand years to come. Now, whoever made this lift muft certainly have known the motions of the heavenly bodies, whereby it was occafioned; but it is the fyftem of the Bramins, that the vulgar are to be governed only by taking advantage of their ignorance: Therefore we are not to wonder at the exceffes they run into in judicial aftrology, which they carry indeed to the higheft degree of folly. Their almanac, compofed by the Bramins, has not only a planet or genius that prefides over every day, but over every hour, every minute, and every action; nor do they enter on any new undertaking, without confulting it, and it requires a concurrence of fortunate circumftances to form a lucky minute. Some days are fit for going to the north, others to the fouth; fome days are fo entirely taken up by evil fpirits, that they abftain from all manner of bufinefs; and a clap of thunder at once breaks their refolutions, let the almanac fay what it will: So that between the Mahometan and Gentoo aftrologers together, one half of the year is taken up in unlucky days. The head aftrologer is ever prefent at all their councils; no new enterprize is begun without his being firft confulted; and his veto is as effectual as that of a tribune in the Roman fenate; the ftrefs they lay on this really makes it of great confequence, and the general who fhould march an army againft the opinion of the aftrologer, would be as much condemned, as the Roman general who fought, though the chicken would not feed.

After having faid fo much on the cuftoms and religion of the Gentoos, I think I may venture to fay on the whole, that the Gentoos, uninfluenced by the Mahometans,

metans, are a meek, fuperftitious charitable people, a character formed by their temperance, cuftoms, and religion. They are almoft ftrangers to many of thofe paffions that form the pleafure and pain of our lives. Love, at leaft all the violent tumults of it, is unknown to the Gentoos, by their marrying fo young, and by the little intercourfe they have with other women; ambition, is effectually reftrained by their religion, which has, by infurmountable barriers, confined every individual to a limited fphere; and all thofe follies, arifing from debauchery, are completely curbed by their abftaining from all intoxicating liquors. But from hence alfo, they are ftrangers to that vigor of mind, and all the virtues grafted on thofe paffions which animate our more active fpirits. They prefer a lazy apathy, and frequently quote this faying from fome favourite book: "It is "better to fit than to walk, to lie down than to fit, "to fleep than to wake, and death is beft of all." Their temperance, and the enervating heat of the climate, ftarves all the natural paffions, and leaves them only avarice, which preys moft on the narroweft minds. This bias to avarice is alfo prompted by the oppreffion of the government, for power is ever jealous of the influence of riches. The Rajahs never let their fubjects rife above mediocrity; and the Mahometan governors look on the growing riches of a fubject as a boy does on a bird's neft; he eyes their progrefs with impatience, then comes with a fpoiler's hand, and ravifhes the fruit of their labour. To counter-act this, the Gentoos bury their money under ground, often with fuch fecrefy as not to truft even their own children with the knowledge of it; and it is amazing what they will fuffer rather than betray it: When their tyrants have tried all manner of corporal punifhments on them, they threaten to defile them; but even that often fails; for refent-

ment prevailing over the love of life, they frequently rip up their bowels, or poiſon themſelves, and carry the ſecret to the grave; and the ſums loſt in this manner, in ſome meaſure account why the ſilver in India does not appear to increaſe, though there are ſuch quantities continually coming into it, and none going out of it.

The Gentoos of the lower provinces are a ſlight made people. Rice is their chief food. It ſeems to afford but poor nouriſhment; for ſtrong robuſt men are ſeldom ſeen among them. Though the people in general are healthy, yet they rarely attain to any great age, which is in ſome meaſure made up to them by an early maturity. They are married in their infancy; and conſummate at fourteen on the male ſide, and ten or eleven on the female: and it is common to ſee a woman of twelve with a child in her arms. Though a barren woman is rare among them, yet they bear but few children; for at eighteen their beauty is on the decline, and at twenty-five they are ſtrongly marked with age: The men indeed wear ſomething better, though they alſo are on the decline after thirty. Thus the ſpring of life is but of ſhort duration, and the organs decay before the faculties of the mind can attain to any perfection. Is nature then deficient? Surely not. We always ſee the organs of the body ſuited to the climate; nor do I know a ſtronger or more active race of people than the Mallays, who live moſtly within ſix degrees of the equinoctial: We muſt rather look for it in that early indulgence in venereal pleaſures, their exceſſive abſtemiouſneſs, their ſedentary way of life, and, in Bengal and the conquered provinces, in the dejected ſtate of their minds, oppreſſed with the tyranny of their conquerors. No wonder then, that with ſuch cuſtoms, ſuch bodies, and ſuch minds, they fall an eaſy prey to every invader.

OF THE MOORS.

The word Moors is uſed by us to expreſs the Mahometans of all ſects and countries who are ſettled in India. It is indeed neceſſary to have ſome general word; for whether Pytan, Perſian, or Tartar by birth, it matters not, the enervating ſoftneſs of the climate, ſoon forms but one common character of them, the diſtinguiſhing qualities of which are perfidy and ſenſuality: But it will be, nevertheleſs, neceſſary to trace their progreſs to that character, and to diſtinguiſh the various nations they come from, before they are melted down into the common maſs.

The Moors of India have the following origins.

The Arabs, who came from the Perſian gulph, ſettled at Maſſulipatam; from thence made conqueſts of the open country up to Dehli, to which they gave a race of kings, who were expelled by Tamerlane and his ſucceſſors; but they appear to have founded various colonies in different parts, who ſtill ſubſiſt, and are called Pytans.

The Afghans, who came from Candahar and the mountains that divide Perſia from Hindoſtan, are alſo called Pytans; but whence the word is derived, or why the appellation ſhould be common to both of them, I will not pretend to aſcertain. The Tartars, or the Mungul Tartars, who came in from Bochara and Samarcand with Tamerlane, are commonly called Moguls. The ſame name is alſo given to the Ouſbeg, Calmuc, and other tribes of Tartars, who are continually coming in, as a kind of adventurers, as well as the Perſians, who, ſince the deſtruction of their own empire, ſeek a refuge at the courts of the Mogul and the Nabobs of the provinces. Theſe, with the ſlaves they have brought up to their own religion, compoſe the

the whole body of Mahometans, whom we blend together, under the general denomination of Moors; and who, though not in number the hundredth part of the natives, yet, by the divifion of the Gentoos, keep almoft the whole in fubjection. Of thefe, the Moguls are in poffeffion of the throne of Dehli, and moft of the principal governments and employments dependent thereon.

If we would come at their true character, we muft look for it in their education. Till the age of five or fix, the boys of rank and family are left entirely to the eunuchs and women; and from the fondnefs and tendernefs of their management, they firft acquire a delicacy of conftitution, a timidity, and an early tendency to the pleafures of the feraglio. They are then provided with tutors, to teach them the Perfian and Arabic languages; and, at this early age, they are brought into company, where they are taught to behave with great gravity and circumfpection, to curb every motion of impatience, learn all the punctilious ceremonies of the eaftern courts, to fay their prayers in public, and every exterior of devotion; and it is aftonifhing to fee how well a boy of eight or nine years old will acquit himfelf in company. They are alfo taught to ride, and the ufe of arms, and are furnifhed with their fhield and fabre, and a little dagger at their waift, which is called a cuttarry, the principal ufe of which, is to ftab on occafion. When the hours of fchool and company are paft, they return to the feraglio, and the parents never fcruple to admit them to all their plays and diverfions, at which are exhibited reprefentations of every thing that is beaftly and unnatural, not in a manner to excite horror, but merely to afford diverfion. Nothing ever fhocked me more than to fee the infenfibility of the parents, in expofing fuch fcenes to the tender minds of their children.

The ſlaves and women of the ſeraglio wait with impatience the firſt appearance of deſire to debauch them, unknown to the parents, and this manner of education continues till thirteen or fourteen, when they conſummate their marriages, which are made by their parents in their infancy, and a ſeparate houſhold is formed for them. They are then forbid their father's ſeraglio, are permitted to ſee none but their mothers, nor has the father even the permiſſion to ſee his daughter-in-law; and from that time, that diſſimulation, which they learnt from the father's leſſons and examples, is practiſed between father and ſon, and too often a jealouſy ariſes between them, which their hiſtory ſhews frequently ends in blood. This is the general education of all the great, and there are few exceptions; the poor and middling ſort are only curbed by the ſhortneſs of their finances; for as ſoon as they acquire money, they tread in the ſteps of their ſuperiors. Here, then, you ſee the ſeeds of that perfidy and ſenſuality, which are the diſtinguiſhing qualities of an Indian Moor; qualities, that would long ſince have deſtroyed the whole race of them, had they not been continually ſupplied with new recruits from their original country.

The Pytans, as I ſaid before, are ſettled in numerous colonies in the interior of India, and chiefly in the barren and mountainous parts, and appear to be the deſcendants of thoſe Arabs, who came in from the gulph of Perſia, whoſe power was broke by Tamerlane and his ſucceſſors; but ſuch, who had got poſſeſſion of any country difficult of acceſs, maintained themſelves there, and their deſcendants are the beſt ſoldiers of the empire, but are deteſted by the Moguls, who look on them to exceed themſelves in perfidiouſneſs and cruelty. They make a trade of hiring themſelves out, and if they have an opportunity, make no ſcruple of dethroning the

power

power which hires them. As to the Afghan Pytans, they feldom continue here, they only make incurfions for plunder, and return with their booty. The Oufbec, Calmucs, and the various tribes of Tartars, who come to fettle here, when they firft arrive, are a bold, hardy, martial people. Their rufticity, and the barbarity of their manners, are greatly derided by the old ftanders. They generally bring a good horfe with them, and are fure to be taken into fervice, for they are reckoned more faithful than other Mahometans. They begin as a fimple cavalier, and are perferred by degrees, till fome of them come to great commands. At firft they abhor the fenfuality and effeminacy of their mafters; but by degrees their native manners wear off, they adopt the luxury they defpifed, they marry the women of the country, and their children or at the utmoft their grandchildren, have nothing remaining of their Tartar origin; like our Englifh hounds, when fent abroad, the firft breed of which retains fome little of the qualities of a hound, but the next are no better than curs.

The Perfians are but a fmall number; and on account of the fairnefs of their complexion, and their politenefs, are favourably received at court, the great men being defirous of marrying them to their daughters, that they may keep up the complexion of their family; for degenerate as the Moors are, they are proud of their origin, and as the Mungul Tartars are a fair complexioned people, a man takes his rank in fome meafure from his colour. As to the flaves bred up to the Mahometan religion, they are much fuch a race as the converts the Portuguefe make to their religion; they are deftitute of all the commendable qualities of the Gentoos, and acquire only the bad ones of the Mahometans. I am fenfible I have altogether given the Moors a deteftable character; and I am forry to fay it is fo univerfally true, that I never knew above two

or three exceptions, and thofe were, among the Tartar and Perfian officers of the army, whofe native manners were not yet utterly corrupted.

Hofpitality is, I think, the only virtue they can pretend to. It feems to be a refuge from the oppreffion of the government; and many of them fcruple a breach of faith with any man they have entertained under their roof. By this you would think friendfhip was a facred bond among them. True, it is ever in their mouths, but rarely in their hearts, and it is a word feldom ufed but to deceive. Their friendfhip like their devotion is all oftentation; they will drink a dram in the intervals between each prayer, though all fpirituous liquors are forbid by their laws, and they will ftab while they embrace you; for which reafon the great men never embrace but on the left, that the perfon they embrace may not come at their dagger with their right hand. The Mahometans in other parts of the world are enthufiafts to their religion; but here the fects of Ofman and Ali never difagree about who was the lawful fucceffor to the caliphat, if they agree about the fucceffion to the government they live under. There are but few mofques, ftill fewer priefts, and the great men, though, by habit, vaftly punctual in their private devotions, rarely go to the public mofques.

The Moors may be divided into two characters; thofe who afpire at power, and thofe who are in poffeffion of it. The former are brave, active, vigilant and enterprizing, fometimes faithful to the party they engage with; but once in poffeffion of power, they feem to have fought it only to abufe it, by making it fubfervient to their fenfuality. The charms of the feraglio at once difarm them, they abandon themfelves to their pleafures, and feem to be fattening themfelves up for a facrifice to fome one that poffeffes thofe qualities themfelves have loft.

Having

Having faid thus much of their character, I fhall endeavour to explain how government can fubfift with fo little virtue.

As I before obferved, the univerfality of the Gentoo religion throughout the continent fhould imply, that there alfo fubfifted an univerfal empire; but no accounts we have of India go far enough back to prove it; for in Alexander the Great's time, it appears to have been divided into great Rajahfhips, whofe Rajahs were continually at war with each other. Then enfues a long chafm in our knowledge of them. When the Portuguefe firft rounded the Cape of Good Hope, they found, that the Arabs had made feveral conquefts along the fea fhore, and had even penetrated along the open country up to Dehli. As they muft have come by fea, it is highly probable their force was not very great; and their progrefs muft have been owing to the inteftine wars of the Rajahs. When Tamerlane came in, he overpowered them with mighty armies; but though he is called conqueror of India, he feems to have conquered only the open country. That vaft tract of country, from the Indus to the Ganges, was unfubdued; nor had he made any great progrefs in the eaftern provinces; and it was not till the time of Aurengezebe, that the Tartar arms penetrated into the Decan and Carnatic; and even he did not make a perfect conqueft of them, for he was on an expedition againft the Mharattas when he died. Thus the Tartar conqueft was never perfect; for their government was fo weakened, by the various ftruggles for the fucceffion, on the death of every emperor, but more by their abandoning themfelves fo totally to the pleafures of the feraglio, that it never took any deep root; and even two thirds of what they had conquered, was ftill left in the hands of the old Rajahs families, in confideration of their paying a certain fum annually to the viceroys appointed by the Mogul over

each particular province. Thus the Mahometan laws never extended further than the capital cities; and even there the old cuftoms were ftill regarded. This is one happy effect of the tenacioufnefs of the Gentoos to their own religion; for had they turned Mahometans, they would indeed have been the moft abject and wretched of the human fpecies.

I am amazed to fee, that all the writers have afferted, that there are no laws in this country; that the land is not hereditary; and that the emperor is univerfal heir. I am ready to allow, there are no written inftitutes; no acts of parliament; and that there is no power to controul the emperor; but I muft affert, that they proceed in their courts of juftice by eftablifhed precedents; that the lineal fucceffion, where there are children, is as indefeafible here as in any country that has no check on the fupreme power; and that the emperor is heir to none but his own officers. Although the Tartars, from their roving life in their own wild country where they live in tents, require few laws, and no fettled police, yet they could diftinguifh the ufe of them in the countries they conquered; and accordingly, both in China and India, they made no innovation, fo that the old Gentoo laws ftill prevail. The moft immutable of thefe is the hereditary right to all lands, which even extends to the tenants. The lord of the manor has an uncontefted right, as long as he pays the ufual tax to the government; fo alfo the tenant under him cannot be removed while he pays his lord the ufual rate; and the fum at which each acre is valued, as alfo the taxes to the government are wrote and preferved in the county books, and can never be exceeded. Thefe laws were wifely inftituted, as barriers againft oppreffion, and were general, except for the demefnes of the crown, which on the expulfion of the great Rajahs families, fell to the Tartar conqueror; and for the Jaghire lands, which

which are lands beſtowed by the crown out of its demeſnes to the Omrahs, for the ſupport of their forces, which, on the death of the poſſeſſor, revert to the crown; but even this regards only the lordſhip of the lands; for under theſe the right of the tenants is indefeaſible.

Theſe laws continued in full force, till the invaſion of Nadir Shah; and till that time there was ſcarce a better adminiſtered government in the world. The manufactures, commerce, and agriculture flouriſhed exceedingly; and none felt the hand of oppreſſion, but thoſe who were dangerous by their wealth or power: but when the governors of the provinces found the weakneſs of the Mogul, and each ſet up for ſovereign in his own province, although they would not break through theſe immutable laws, they invented new taxes under new names, which doubled or trebled the original ones, and which the land-holder was obliged to levy on his tenants. The old ſtock of wealth for ſome time ſupported this; but when that failed, and the tenants were ſtill preſſed for more, they borrowed of uſurers at an exorbitant intereſt; and the government ſtill continuing theſe demands, the lords of the land were obliged to do the ſame; but as all this while the value of the lands did not increaſe, the conſequence was, that, at laſt, unable to pay the intereſt of the mortgages, the rents were ſeized by rapacious uſurers. The government finding the revenues fall ſhorter every year, at laſt ſent collectors and farmers of the revenues into the provinces. Thus the lord of the land was diveſted of the power over his country, and the tenants expoſed to mercileſs plunderers; till the farmer and manufacturer finding the more they laboured, the more they paid, the manufacturer would work no more, the farmer cultivate no more, than was neceſſary for the bare ſubſiſtence of his family. Thus this once flouriſhing and plentiful country, has in the courſe of a few years, been reduced to ſuch miſery, that

many

many thouſands are continually periſhing through want. The crown lands are ſtill worſe off; let out to the higheſt bidder, the farmer of them looks no farther than to make the moſt of his ſhort time; and the Jaghire lands alone remain unplundered. Hence that equal diſtribution of wealth, that makes the happineſs of a people, and ſpreads a face of chearfulneſs and plenty through all ranks, has now ceaſed; and the riches of the country are ſettled partly in the hands of a few uſurers, and greedy courtiers, and the reſt is carried out of the country, by the foreign troops taken into pay to maintain the governors in their uſurpation. This unhappy decay the India company have already experienced, in the decline of their trade, and riſe of the price of their manufactures, and will, I fear, experience more and more annually.

I would always have you carry in your mind, that theſe grievances have ariſen only ſince the invaſion of Nadir Shah, from the diſproportionate number of forces kept up by the revolted governors, whoſe neceſſities have led them into theſe oppreſſive meaſures, and not from the nature of the government: for, till within theſe very few years, merchants were no where better protected, nor more at their eaſe, than under this government; nor is there a part of the world, where arts and agriculture have been more cultivated, of which the vaſt plenty and variety of manufactories, and rich merchants, were proofs ſufficient.

Unhappily for the Gentoos, themſelves are made the miniſters of oppreſſion over each other; the Moormen, haughty, lazy, and voluptuous, make them, of whom they have no jealouſy, the miniſters of their oppreſſion, which further anſwers the end of dividing them, and prevents their uniting to fling off the yoke; and by the ſtrange intoxication of power, they are found ſtill more cruel and rapacious than their foreign maſters; and what is

is more extraordinary, the Bramins ſtill exceed the reſt in every abuſe of power, and ſeem to think, if they bribe God by beſtowing a part of their plunder on cows and Faquirs, their iniquities will be pardoned. Yet at the ſame time, they ſerve their tyrants with fear and trembling. There is no further connection between them than the uſe they are of to each other. The Gentoo, cool, deliberate, and indefatigable in application, is urged on by the proſpect of enriching himſelf, while his maſter finds means and leiſure to give himſelf up to the delights of his ſeraglio: But as his profuſeneſs is ſtill more than his miniſter can ſupply, in his firſt exigence he ſeizes on him, and puts him to the torture to diſcover his ſecret hoard. If the ſum he gets by this means anſwers his expectation, he reinſtates him in his former authority; if not, he cuts off his head and puts another of the ſame ſtamp in his room. Thus all money affairs are in the hands of the Gentoos. Not only thoſe of the government, but every Moorman of rank and every merchant has his Gentoo agent, who keeps his accounts, and is the petty tyrant over his tyrant's ſlaves. Thus much for the management of the revenues.

With reſpect to the executive part depending on power, the government of the Moors borders ſo near on anarchy, you would wonder how it keeps together. Here every man maintains as many armed men as the ſtate of his finances will admit, and the degree of ſubmiſſion is proportioned to the means of reſiſtance; and the grand myſtery of their politics is to foment this diſunion. Whenever any ſubject becomes formidable either by his wealth or power, they prefer the ſilent execution of aſſaſſination to that of public juſtice, leſt a criminal, publicly arraigned, ſhould prove as a ſtandard for the ſeditious to repair to.

Loyalty and patriotiſm, thoſe virtuous incentives to great and noble actions, are here unknown, and when they

they ceaſe to fear, they ceaſe to obey; but to keep their fears and miſtruſts in perpetual agitation, whole legions of ſpies are entertained by the government; theſe are diſperſed all over the country, and inſinuating themſelves into the families of the great, if they engage in any plot, are ſure to betray them, but oftner give falſe information againſt the innocent for the ſake of reward. The perſon informed againſt, ignorant whence the information comes, in ſelf-preſervation informs againſt his neareſt friends. Thus mutual good faith, the bond of ſociety, is broke, and treachery and ſuſpicion embitter every hour of their lives; but ſtill ſuch meaſures anſwer the end of the government, as far as the inſpection of the ſupreme power extends; but in all theſe great unwieldy empires, they have no check on the diſtant provinces; and a governor has no ſooner taken the oath of allegiance, than he plots how to break it with ſecurity. In vain are all precautions, where there is no check but fear; whatever calls the Emperor from the centre of his dominions, affords the opportunity of a revolt; and this is the ſource of all their revolutions. Money is here, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, the eſſence of power; for the ſoldiers know no other attachment than their pay, and the richeſt party ſoon becomes the ſtrongeſt.

Another principal cauſe of the frequent revolutions in this country is, their ſtrange error in the government of their armies. One would expect to ſee good ſenſe in their military eſtabliſhment at leaſt. Their whole force is divided into great commands, and the pay is iſſued from the treaſury to the reſpective generals. Hence the ſoldiers regard only the man from whom they receive their pay, and are intirely at his devotion, except indeed the Emperor's or Subah's body-guard which he pays himſelf, and he only endeavours to keep a kind of balance of power among theſe great officers; he does not ſtudy to attach the whole

to

to himſelf, only a majority, the reſt he awes with his power, and makes them fight from fear; and, what is more extraordinary, he keeps his troops greatly in arrear, from a miſtaken notion, that they will be true to him, from the fear of loſing their pay. The conſequence is, that if the invader offers fair, he wins over the general officers to him, and a revolution is at once effected; or elſe they refuſe to take the field, till their arrears are paid, and perhaps the treaſury is too low to ſatisfy them, and by this delay, the enemy have time to gather ſtrength; and finally, when the day of action comes, they draw their ſwords but faintly, having no great motive to inſpire them with courage, while the invaders are puſhed on by the hope of reward and plunder. On the other ſide again, when the Emperors or Subahs have ſecured a majority of their general officers, and deſire to diſmiſs a part of their force, they abſolutely refuſe the pay that is juſtly due to them, and make them and their ſoldiers quit the country, or perhaps follow them with a body of troops, and cut them in pieces.

I now flatter myſelf, to have explained to you the ſources of the frequent revolutions among theſe people. An Engliſhman cannot but wonder to ſee how little the ſubjects in general are affected by any revolution in the government. It is not felt beyond the ſmall circle of the court. To the reſt it is a matter of the utmoſt indifference, whether their tyrant is a Perſian or a Tartar; for they feel all the curſes of power without any of the benefit, but that of being exempt from anarchy, which is alone the only ſtate worſe than that they endure.

I am, etc.

LETTER II

Sir,

In the account I propofe to give you of thefe countries; I fhall confine myfelf to fuch particulars only as are neceffary to give you a clear idea of the ftate of Bengal, prior to the fatal cataftrophe which happened to all the company's fettlements there.

The laft conquerors of India were the Tartars under the conduct of Timur Beg, a fierce and warlike people, who, in the fame century, over-ran China and Perfia; but their pofterity degenerated into a weak, effeminate race, incapable of maintaining the conquefts acquired by the bravery of their anceftors; fo that in China, they were foon expelled by the natives, till frefh irruptions of their uncorrupted countrymen again fubdued them. The fame in Perfia, where the race of Tamerlane governed with great glory for fome few reigns, till, enervated by the contagious foftnefs of the people they fubdued, they were unable to refift the invafion of a handful of mountaineers, who lately put an end to their race, in the death of Shah Hoffein. In India their degeneracy has been ftill more flagrant. Who can trace the martial hardy Tartar in the weak degenerate pofterity of Tamerlane, from Aurengezebe to Mahomed Shah? As well might we feek for Roman virtue in Caracalla, Heliogabalus, and thofe monfters who reigned in the decline of the Roman empire. When Nadir Shah invaded them, they were indeed ripe for deftruction, and he wifely judged he could not leave the government in weaker hands than thofe he found it in: He knew well, a monarch like Mahomed Shah, loft to all fenfe of glory, and immerfed in the Circæan pleafures of a feraglio, was not to be animated by fo noble a motive as a juft revenge. His judgment proved too true; a ftupid

a ſtupid languor ſucceeded that terrible ſtorm; all looked on the empire as a ſhip in diſtreſs; and, inſtead of vigorouſly exerting themſelves to ſave her, they left her to be daſhed to pieces; every one ſtrove to ſeize a portion of the wreck: The governors of the provinces immediately threw off their dependence, or at leaſt kept up but a mock ſhew of it, reſerving to themſelves the revenues of the provinces, to ſtrengthen them in their uſurpation. The Rajahs too, who moſtly poſſeſs the woody mountainous countries, ſecure in their ſituation, once more threw off a yoke they had always borne with impatience; and thus was the mighty empire rent in pieces by the Perſian invaſion, nothing remaining to the emperor but the provinces from Dehli to Lahore.

I ſhall go no farther back than the year 1725, when Bengal was governed by Soujah Caun; who, for his zeal and fidelity to the crown, had been rewarded with the inveſtiture of this government in his own family; and his authority then extended over the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa; the two laſt he governed by his deputies, and kept his court at Muxadavad in the center of the province of Bengal.

Some time before his acceſſion, two Moguls, brothers, named Hadjee Hamet and Allyvherde Caun, came to Bengal powerfully recommended by ſome of the principal Omrahs at court, and were received into his ſervice; the former as an officer of the foot ſoldiers, who immediately attended his own perſon, the other as his Hookah, or pipe-bearer. Hadjee Hamet had in his younger days been at Mecca, which is implied by the title of Hadjee, given to all thoſe who have made that pilgrimage. This alone is a great recommendation in a country ſo diſtant from a place, which by the Koran all Muſſulmen ought to viſit once in their lives; and a reputation for ſanctity is the beſt diſguiſe for an ambitious

tious man, among a people ſo full of enthuſiaſm as are all the followers of Mahomet: It gave him an eaſy introduction to the great, which he well knew how to improve: he ſoon diſcovered his maſter's ruling paſſion to be an unbridled luſt after women. To this he made his court, and ſaw himſelf in the road to greatneſs; but was conſcious of a weakneſs which might prove an invincible obſtacle to his purſuits, the want of that martial courage ſo indiſpenſibly neceſſary in a country where no one is eſteemed but by his merit as a ſoldier. That, he knew his brother poſſeſſed in an eminent degree. He therefore determined to labour for his advancement, reſigning to him the glory of command, and contenting himſelf with indulging an ardent thirſt after riches. Fame and dominion were the darlings of his brother's more exalted ſoul. Thus, neceſſary to each other, they united thoſe qualities which might have commanded ſucceſs in a much greater enterprize. Hadjee well knew, that where the object of our purſuit is itſelf criminal, crimes are the ſteps by which we muſt aſcend; no retreat, no liſtening to the voice of nature; the paſſions themſelves muſt be ſubſervient, and conſcience huſhed. Thus reſolved, he is ſaid to have made a ſacrifice of his own daughter to the luſt of his maſter. Admitted a favourite, he lifted his brother from one ſtep to another, till, in the year 1729, he obtained for him the Nabobſhip of Patna, where Allyvherde Caun ſoon made himſelf very powerful; for, partly by policy in ſetting the Rajahs of that warlike province at variance with each other, and partly by the ſucceſs of his arms, he brought them to an entire ſubmiſſion, making them pay their tributes, and yet attaching them to his ſervice: In the mean time Hadjee, as prime miniſter, had acquired great riches, both for himſelf and his maſter; but not chuſing to depend entirely on the

the frowns or ſmiles of another, and perhaps ſuſpecting jealouſy might be ſtruggling with affection in his maſter's boſom, he eyed Patna as a ſecure retreat; and by bribes among the great men at Dehli, he privately, in 1736, obtained a Phirmaund, or royal grant, for his brother to hold the government of Bahar, independent of Bengal. This could not be ſo ſecretly tranſacted, but enough tranſpired to excite the jealouſy of the Soubah, who was probably meditating revenge, when, in 1739, death ſurprized him. His only ſon Suffraz Caun ſucceeded him in his government, as well as in his deſigns againſt the brothers; but when the means were conſidered, he ſaw the artful fabric they had raiſed had too firm a baſis for him to ſhake. Hadjee was in his hands; but he could not look on his brother's power without trembling: Awed by that, he determined to wait a more proper ſeaſon, and Allyvherde, checked by his brother's being in the Soubah's power, durſt not attempt any thing againſt him; ſo both determined to diſſemble. Allyvherde filled his letters with proteſtations of loyalty and ſubmiſſion, as the Soubah did his with aſſurances of the confidence he had in him. As the courtiers and ſoldiers were moſtly enemies to the brothers, it is poſſible the Soubah might in time have executed his purpoſe; but, indulging himſelf in exceſſive debauchery, even to that degree as to diſorder his faculties, he ſoon rendered himſelf odious to his people, and loſt the affections of thoſe who might have ſupported him. But nothing hurt him ſo much as a diſgrace he put on Jagutſeat, the greateſt banker, and perhaps the richeſt ſubject in the world. Hearing that his ſon Seat Martabruy was married to a young lady of exquiſite beauty, he inſiſted on a ſight of her; all the father's remonſtrances were in vain; he perſiſted, and even ſent people to force her from his houſe; ſaw her, and ſent her back, poſſibly un-

injured; but the very ſeeing her, in a country where women are kept concealed, was an injury never to be forgiven. The crafty Hadjee rejoiced in an event that ſeemed likely to add ſo powerful a family to their party: He immediately tendered his own and his brother's ſervices to revenge the diſhonour, which were readily embraced, and they brought over likewiſe one Allumchand, who had been a faithful ſervant to the father, and would have been ſo to the ſon, but had incurred his diſpleaſure by repreſenting too freely the ill conſequences of his exceſſes. They had a conference, the iſſue of which was, that Allyvherde ſhould march from Patna; that they would endeavour to win as many of the general officers to their party as they could; and, if they were ſucceſsful, that Allyvherde Caun ſhould have the Soubahſhip. But the former obſtacle remained, Hadjee was ſtill in the Soubah's power. Seat and Allumchand undertook to get him removed to Patna, and that even by the Soubah's deſire. Accordingly they repreſented to the Soubah, "That Hadjee was tampering "with the general officers, that it was dangerous to "keep him at court, and more ſo to attempt his life; "but, that, as he was no ſoldier, and could not add to "his brother's ſtrength, it was therefore moſt expe-"dient to ſend him to Patna." The betrayed Suffraz Caun fell into the ſnare, and Hadjee received his diſmiſſion with great joy. He ſoon joined his brother, and, by his artful eloquence, ſo gloſſed over the crime with the flattering expectations of future greatneſs, that Allyvherde, who elſe had probably been content with the authority he poſſeſſed, was dazzled by the ſplendor, and ſaw not that he undertook the death of his benefactor's ſon. Hadjee gave him no time to relent. The reſolution was no ſooner formed than executed, and in December 1741, Allyvherde began his march; firſt

firſt writing to the Soubah, "That he was oppreſſed "with grief to find he had ſo many enemies at court, "who, by their miſrepreſentations, had perſuaded "him to diſgrace his brother, that he was coming "to fling himſelf at his feet, and prove himſelf his "loyal ſervant." The Soubah, rouzed from his deluſive ſlumber, would have taken vigorous meaſures; but the ſame traitors aſſured him, "He had nothing "to apprehend from Allyvherde Caun, who had "only a few troops with him; that if he would give "them leave to aſſure Allyvherde in his name, that "he would reſtore his brother to favour, and that he "was convinced of his fidelity, that Allyvherde "would march no farther." The Soubah was again deceived, and Allyvherde, by this delay of a few days, had time to gain the paſſes which divide Bengal from Bahar, where a few men might have checked his progreſs. The Soubah upbraided his counſellors with their treachery, who pleaded, that themſelves were deceived; and he was now to put his life and government to the hazard of a battle. Their forces were nearly equal, each army conſiſting of about thirty thouſand men: But it was but the laſt day of his life that he was to experience how few were faithful to him: His chief reliance was on his artillery, little ſuſpecting his maſter of the ordnance, who, after a few diſcharges without ſhot, went over to the enemy, and was followed by many others. Of all his commanders, Muſſet Cooley Caun, Goſe Caun, and Bauneer Ally Caun, alone remained faithful to him. The two latter were killed. Muſſet Cooley ſought his ſafety in flight, and would have perſuaded the Soubah to do the ſame, and his elephant-driver undertook to carry him ſafe to the city; but he cried, "He ſcorned "to give way to the rebels," and ruſhed with his

guards into the thickeſt of the enemy, where, by his great efforts, he kept the event for ſome time dubious, till overpowered by numbers, he yielded to the ſuperior fortune of his rival. Muſſet Cooley Caun fled for Cuttack, of which he was governor; while Allyvherde, joined by Suffraz Caun's army, entered Muxadavad March 30, 1742, and ſoon ſhewed he wanted only a juſt title to make him worthy of this high ſtation. Contrary to the general practice, he ſhed no blood after the action, contenting himſelf with putting Suffraz Caun's children under gentle confinement.

His firſt act was, to ſend for Hadjee, whom he had left at Patna, that he might have the aſſiſtance of his ſuperior judgment in maintaining what his own bravery, directed by his brother's counſels, had acquired; and having rewarded his party with the poſts lately filled by his adverſaries, diſtributed part of his treaſure among them, and received the ſubmiſſion of the Rajahs and all the great men, he took the field, with a ſelect body of Pattans added to his forces, under the command of Muſtapha Caun, a general of diſtinguiſhed merit: then appointing his brother governor in his abſence, he began his march againſt Muſſet Cooley Caun, who was in Cuttack with the remains of Suffraz Caun's party: After a ſhort and unſucceſsful reſiſtance he fled with all his followers to Decan, and never more diſturbed the Soubah.

He had but a ſhort time to indulge himſelf in the pleaſing thoughts of being in quiet poſſeſſion of the three provinces, when he was ſuddenly alarmed with an invaſion of eighty thouſand Mharattas, who, entering over the Berbohim hills, made it doubtful whether he could reach his capital in time to preſerve it.

It is neceſſary I ſhould here inform you who the Mharattas are, and what their pretenſions in Bengal.

Every

Every body in any degree verfed in the hiftory of India muft know, that the kingdom of Decan and coaft of Malabar were never entirely fubdued. The Rajah of Sittarah, commonly called the Sou Rajah, a corruption of the family name of Sehoo, put himfelf at the head of a confederacy of the independent Rajahs, who poffefs all the country called the promontory of India, from Ganjam weft to Guzzerat: And Aurengezebe, finding all his endeavours to conquer them in vain, and that they haraffed the Decan and other provinces bordering on their territory, was at laft glad to make peace with them on their own terms. Thefe were, the independent enjoyment of the above countries, exclufive of the port of Surat, and the quarter part of the revenues of Decan, for which a certain fum was ftipulated, which was called the chout: But the treaty was never ftrictly obferved on either fide. When the emperors had no other wars on their hands, they refufed to pay the chout; and when there were any inteftine divifions in the Mogul empire, the Mharattas never failed to extend their boundaries; till gathering new ftrength, as the Mogul's declined, they encreafed their demands to the chout of the whole empire, to which the weak emperors were obliged to fubmit. This year the Sou Rajah fent to demand the chout. The emperor, brought to the laft ftate of imbecillity by the invafion of Nadir Shah, and unable either to refift or comply, propofed to them, among other expedients, to fend a force againft Allyvherde Caun to receive the revenues of the two laft years; fend his and his brother's heads to court; and reinftate the family of Sujah Caun. The Mharattas gladly embraced a propofal which feemed to infure them the conqueft, or at leaft the plunder of three rich provinces.

As their force consists solely of light horse, they made such rapid marches, that their arrival was the first notice the Soubah had of their intentions; and he was then unfortunately at the very extremity of his territories. By forced marches he reached the province of Burdwan; but finding the enemy must be up with him should he attempt to join his brother, he there intrenched himself, and was soon surrounded by the Mharattas, who, though superior in number, did not attempt to force him. Boscar Pundit, the Mharatta general, now sent a messenger to acquaint him with his demands; which were, the revenue due to the crown, the chout of the two last years, the treasures of Soujah Caun and Suffraz Caun; and that for the future the Sou Rajah should have officers of his own to collect the chout in every district of the three provinces. The intrepid Allyvherde, exasperated to hear such haughty terms, boldly resolved to fight his way through the enemy, and join his brother. He put himself at the head of the Pattans; who, animated by his example, and the promise of reward, charged with such fury, that they soon cut their way through the enemy, and gained the high road to the capital. They were followed by the whole Mharatta army for three days together, till at last they reached the town of Cutwa, where happily the river was fordable; and here his situation admitted of a little rest: But when he formed his forces for passing the river, he found them reduced to no more than three thousand Pattans; the rest of his army, consisting mostly of Bengal troops, the worst soldiers in the empire, had taken the opportunity, while the enemy was employed against the Pattans, of marching off towards Cuttack. The Soubah now saw, that the dangers past were far short of those in prospect; but, master of himself at

at all times, he betrayed no ſenſe of fear, and he gave his orders with a chearfulneſs which was to his troops a certain omen of ſucceſs.

There was one paſs only by which the Mharattas could come to attack him, before he gained the river: This he gave in charge to Muſtapha Caun, aſſiſted by Zaindee Hamet Caun, Hadjee's eldeſt ſon, and Meer Jaffier with eighty Pattans, with orders to maintain it till the whole army had croſſed the river. The Mharattas, imagining the Soubah propoſed to continue at Cutwa till joined by his brother, ſtood for ſome time aſtoniſhed at the deſperate attempt; but when they ſaw his army in the river, enraged to ſee their prey eſcape out of their hands, they attacked the defile with the beſt of their troops; but all their efforts were in vain againſt the brave Pattans, who obeyed their orders with the loſs of half their number, and joined the Soubah with the reſt on the other ſide of the river; and, in this memorable affair, Meer Jaffier is ſaid to have killed ten Mharattas with his own hand. Their valour was amply rewarded by their generous maſter, who, on his arrival at Muxadavad, preſented Muſtapha Caun with ten lacks of roupees *, and the reſt in proportion. The Soubah upbraided his brother in the ſevereſt terms for his cowardice, in not coming to his aſſiſtance; who pleaded, that, giving him over for loſt, he employed his time in fortifying the city, which the Soubah found ſufficiently ſtrong againſt an army which had no cannon. He had now ſtruck

* The rupee is a ſilver coin, ſtruck in the *Mogul*'s mints, with an inſcription of his name and titles, the year of his reign, and the place at which it was ſtruck. It weighs from 7 *dw.* 10¾ *gr.* to 7 *dw.* 11 *gr.* and the proportion of allay to fine ſilver, is as 1 or 2 to 100. One hundred thouſand rupees make a lack, which is equal to 12,500 *l.* ſterling, one hundred lacks a crore, one hundred crores an arrib.

ſuch a terror into his enemies, and had ſo well eſtabliſhed his character as a ſoldier, that the Mharattas, not daring to attempt the city, contented themſelves with ravaging the country all around, till the approach of the rains obliged them to retire back into the Burdwan province, and put an end to their operations.

The Soubah, on his acceſſion, had ordered large levies of troops in the province of Bahar, ſo that in October, the rains being over, he again took the field at the head of fifty thouſand men. The Mharattas alſo encreaſed their ſtrength by the deſertion of Meer Hubbib from the Soubah's party, who carried ſome cannon with him. He had been deputy governor of Dacca, but being called to the Soubah's court, to anſwer to ſome crime laid to his charge, he rather choſe to truſt himſelf with the enemies of his country, than abide the reſentment of an injured maſter; and his great knowledge of the country made him very uſeful to them.

I ſhall not tire your patience with an account of the many ſkirmiſhes and military operations of the campaign; but in general obſerve, that the Mharattas, agreeably to their uſual practice, would never venture a general action, but endeavoured to bring the Soubah to terms by haraſſing his troops and plundering his country. The Soubah ſent to offer peace; but the Mharattas, to their former terms, added that of the reſignation of his government to Suffraz Caun's eldeſt ſon. Provoked at this, the ſubtle Hadjee tempted his brother to try what treachery could effect. A conference was propoſed and accepted. A tent was pitched between both armies; and Boſchar Punditt, relying on the Subah's oath on the Koran for his perſonal ſafety, advanced with thirteen of his general officers: The tent was double, and lined with armed men, who, on the ſignal given, ruſhed on the unprepared Mharattas, and cut them to pieces in ſight of their own army, who

breathed

breath'd instant revenge; but the Soubah advancing at the head of his troops, ſtruck terror into a multitude without commanders, and the Mharattas, by a ſpeedy flight, diſappointed him of his hopes of bringing them to a general engagement. The only revenge in their power, was, ravaging the country, which they did moſt effectually, burning the towns, and deſtroying the inhabitants, without regard to ſex or age. The Soubah purſued them ſo cloſely, that he at laſt drove them back over the Berbohim hills, having killed many in different ſkirmiſhes, and taken a number of priſoners, and among the reſt an officer of diſtinction, named Sarſarow, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

The flattering proſpect was but as a ſudden calm, while the clouds gather together to return with greater violence; for advice was now, 1744, brought of a freſh army of Mharattas entering by the way of Cuttack, under the command of Ragojee, and of another by the way of Patna, commanded by Balajerow, general to the Sou Rajah; each of ſixty thouſand horſe. But though independent of each other, they agreed to act in concert, and make an equal diviſion of all plunder and advantages that might be obtained. The Soubah, who was returning from Berbohim, apprehenſive of being incloſed, regained Cutwa by ſpeedy marches, and proceeded to his capital, with a mind full of anxiety at the mortification of being obliged to leave his country expoſed to mercileſs plunderers. He made ſuch additional works to the city, as the ſhort time would permit; and leaving it under the charge of Hadjee, he took the field again with an army of obſervation, compoſed of troops, whoſe bodies were half exhauſted by fatigue, and their minds ſpiritleſs through deſpondency. But behold a dawn of hope! He ſoon traced the marks of diſcord between the two Mharatta generals, and by the mediation of Sarſarow, a conference was conſented to by the

the Soubah and Balajerow, at which a peace was concluded on the following terms. The Soubah paid twenty-two lacks for the chout of the two laſt years; engaged to pay it regularly for the future; and, it is ſaid, gave a large ſum as a preſent to the general himſelf, who, on his part, promiſed to retire out of the country, and to aſſiſt in driving out the other Mharatta army alſo. Balajerow did indeed retire himſelf, but left the Soubah to fight it out with his confederate; who being no match for the Soubah, divided his forces into ſmall bodies, and laid waſte whatever had been ſpared by his predeceſſors, till the rains, and the Soubah's purſuit, once more drove them out of the country.

The next year they renewed the ſame ſcene; but the Soubah attacked them ſo cloſely, that he cleared the country of them early in march 1745, Oriſſa and Cuttack only remaining in their hands; and now he promiſed himſelf ſome reſpite, at leaſt till the month of October. He this year appointed Zaindee Hamet Caun, Nabob of Patna, who ſet out for that province with a conſiderable body of troops, to prevent the incurſions of the Mharattas, and awe the rebellious Rajahs of the province. About this time the Soubah firſt conceived a jealouſy of the great reputation of his general Muſtapha Caun, who by his bravery, and unlimited profuſion to his Pattans, had made himſelf extremely beloved by them; crimes ſufficient to render him obnoxious under a government depending intirely on military power, and where there is no medium between ſupreme command and abject ſlavery. The generous open temper of the man conſidered, I doubt much whether the Soubah's ſuſpicions were juſtly founded; but his death was reſolved on, and it was determined to aſſaſſinate him the firſt time he came to court. Muſtapha was too much beloved to have it kept a ſecret from him. To be warned was ſufficient.

ſufficient to be ſafe. His firſt thoughts prompted him to revenge, which he was powerful enough to execute, but could not reſolve to ſpill the blood of a man he once loved. He rather choſe to quit the country with his Pattans, and was followed by Sumſeer Caun, at the head of a conſiderable body more. They took their route towards Bahar, intending to paſs through that province into their own country.

The brothers, alarmed at ſo great a defection, and ſenſible no enemy is ſo dangerous as an injured friend, but above all, apprehenſive of their joining the Mharattas, by great rewards and greater promiſes, attached the reſt of the Pattans to them, and the Soubah immediately marched in purſuit of them. The Pattans, not ſuſpecting any purſuit, had marched but ſlowly, and were overtaken near Patna. Receiving advice at the ſame time, that Zaindee Hamet Caun was marching from that city toward them, they inſtantly determined to face about and attack the Soubah, whoſe forces were little ſuperior to their own. The battle began with the moſt promiſing appearance of ſucceſs for the Pattans, till Muſtapha Caun, borne away by the torrent of his paſſion, endeavoured with too great impetuoſity to penetrate that part where the Soubah was, but met with a reſiſtance equally brave, and received his death's wound from an arrow lodged in his eye. The Pattans, as if their general was their only ſource of life and courage, inſtantly fled, and with their general Sumſeer Caun, reached their own country.

The brothers never eſcaped a greater danger; and in the frenzy of their joy, forgetting the great ſervices they had received from the unfortunate Muſtapha, they ſhamefully expoſed his remains, to be carried in an ignominious manner through the ſtreets of Patna.

The Mharattas in this and the following year, 1746, 7, again renewed their incurſions. All the Soubah could

do, was, to cover the country to the eaſt of the Ganges; north and weſt from Cuttack to Rajahmant lay deſolate and uncultivated. Indeed they were not ſo numerous; the country that had been ſo long expoſed to them, would no longer ſupport ſuch vaſt armies. But while his attention was taken up by them, a greater, and more unexpected misfortune beſel him. The fugitive Sumſeer Caun returned, the beginning of this year, at the head of ſeven or eight thouſand Pattans, on a project concerted between him and Meer Hubbib, for the plunder of Patna. Of this Hadjee had ſome intelligence, and haſtened to aſſiſt his ſon with his counſels. Sumſeer Caun arrived on the oppoſite ſide of the Ganges, within a few hours march of the city, and wrote a letter to the Nabob of Patna, feigning contrition for what was paſt, and deſiring his interceſſion with the Soubah to reſtore him to favour. Hadjee adviſed to try the ſame ſtratagem, which had been ſo ſucceſsful againſt Boſchar Pudnitt; but his ſon, whether from ſcruple or fear, heſitated and returned for anſwer, that he was not impowered to promiſe him pardon, but had wrote to the court in his behalf. The orders ſoon arrived, which were to follow his father's inſtructions. The Soubah, at the ſame time, the better to deceive the Pattans, wrote Sumſeer Caun, he gladly accepted his ſervices, and preſſed his march to Muxadavad. This propoſal Sumſeer Caun made uſe of to croſs the river, giving out he intended to march on to Bengal. Both parties deſired a conference with the ſame treacherous views. It was ſettled they ſhould meet on a plain before the city, where a tent was pitched, under which Hadjee had contrived to ſink a mine, which was to be fired as ſoon as Zaindee Hamet Caun retired. Sumſeer came at the time appointed, attended by a choſen band; each party endeavoured to conceal their deſigns, by moſt exaggerated aſſurances of mutual friendſhip. On

Zaindee

Zaindee Hamet's riſing to take his leave, Sumſeer Caun and his followers drew their ſabres, and cut down the Nabob and thoſe that attempted to defend him. In this confuſion the mine was neglected, and the Pattans advanced and entered the city with the fugitives, where they took old Hadjee priſoner, as he was attempting to eſcape in diſguiſe. No ſtratagem, no wily art could avail. After ſuffering every indignity which wanton cruelty could ſuggeſt, he was ſeverely ſcourged, and mounted on an aſs, with his legs tied under the belly, and thus was led the ſame tour he himſelf had appointed for Muſtapha Caun. Freſh tortures were then inflicted on him, and more were in reſerve, till one of his guards, pitying his great age and ſufferings, conveyed him a doſe of poiſon, which put a period to his miſerable life.

Thus Hadjee Hamet deſervedly met the ſame doom himſelf had ſentenced others to, and gave the world an inſtance more of the incompatibility of wickedneſs with happineſs.

Allyvherde Caun was for ſome time inconſolable for this misfortune. In his brother he loſt the faithful pilot, who had ſucceſsfully ſteered the veſſel, in which their common fortunes were embarked, through all the ſtorms and dangers of uſurped authority; and in Zaindee Hamet, the prop and ſtaff of his declining years, to whom he had given one of his daughters in marriage, and whom he had deſtined for his ſucceſſor in the Soubahſhip, of which his great merit rendered him every way worthy. But freſh dangers ſoon rouzed him from his lethargy. Agreeable to the plan concerted between Sumſeer Caun and Meer Hubbib, the Mharattas now entered the country by the Berbohim paſs, while Sumſeer Caun advanced with his Pattans towards the Soubah, who had already taken the field, to revenge his brother's death. His firſt ſtep was to endeavour, by forced marches, to prevent their junction. The three

armies,

armies, thus marching towards each other, met at Bogglepore, as at one common centre, which they all reached at the ſame time; but with this circumſtance, that the Soubah found himſelf between their armies, both now ready to attack him. In this dilemma, his ſuperior genius, ever fruitful in reſources, ſuggeſted to him an expedient, which extricated him from the greateſt danger he was ever yet expoſed to. The Pattans, he knew, fought from a principle of revenge for the death of Muſtapha, and from an attachment to their ſurviving maſter; but the Mharattas for plunder only: Leaving therefore his camp ſtanding, he advanced briſkly towards the Pattans, who ſtood him the hardeſt ſtruggle he had ever yet been engaged in, but which ended in their total rout, by the death of their commander Sumſeer. This ſtratagem had its utmoſt effect. The Mharattas, regardleſs of the views of their general, and unreſtrained by military laws, inſtead of attacking the Soubah's rear, fell to plundering his camp, maugre all the exhortations of their officers. The Soubah, after the Pattans were once broken, inſtead of purſuing them, found the Mharattas plundering his camp in the utmoſt confuſion. Thus, incapable of making any ſtand, they were totally routed with very little loſs to the Soubah, who, thus revenged for the loſs of his faithful brother and beloved nephew, returned to the capital.

The Mharattas never ceaſed their incurſions, but kept him almoſt continually in the field; and the little reſpite he had, was fully taken up in contriving means to raiſe money to ſupport the immenſe expences he was at in maintaining forces againſt them, to which he obliged every body to contribute: Nor did the European ſettlements eſcape, but, in 1747, were obliged to pay their quota; he obſerving always this policy, not to demand it of them all at the ſame time, as he wiſely judged their union only could make them formidable. At

At laſt, in 1750, a firm treaty was ſettled with the Sou Rajah, by which the province of Cuttack was given up to him, and the chout was ſettled at twelve lacks per annum ; ſince which they have never moleſted theſe provinces. The only alarm he ever met with after this, was the march of Monſur Ally Caun, Viſir of the empire, into the province of Bahar. I am not well acquainted with the motives of his coming ; but he proceeded as far as Patna, and it is probable, if he had continued his march to Bengal, the Soubah's troops, awed with the pomp of royal authority, and indeed inferior in every reſpect, would not have drawn a ſword for him. Whatever the Viſir's intentions were, the intrigues carrying on againſt him at court, obliged him to return. Allyvherde Caun made him a magnificent preſent, and the Viſir, in return, confirmed him in his Soubahſhip, on condition of his remitting yearly to court fifty-two lacks of rupees, in which he was afterwards very punctual.

We have ſeen this brave uſurper ſtruggling through difficulties, which nothing but the utmoſt conſtancy and intrepidity could ſurmount. Let us now follow him through the more pleaſing ſcenes of domeſtic life, and public tranquillity. His great age, being now in his ſeventy-third year, the low ſtate of his treaſury, and the diſtreſſed condition of the provinces, which had been expoſed to the Mharattas, and lay uncultivated, and the manufactures loſt ; all required the reſt of peace, which, henceforward, it was his whole attention to preſerve. I mentioned before, he had no ſons of his own ; he therefore treated as ſuch the iſſue of Hadjee, who were Nowagis Mahmud Caun, married to his eldeſt daughter, Sid Hamet, and three ſons of Zaindee Hamet. The eldeſt of Zaindee Hamet's ſons, named Mirza Mahmud, a lad of ſeventeen years

of

of age, he adopted himſelf, and took into his family the youngeſt, named Merzee Mundee; but the ſecond, called Fazeel Cooley Caun, was adopted by Nowagis Mahmud Caun. Nowagis, the eldeſt of Hadjee's children, he made Nabob of Dacca, with the whole revenue of that rich province to maintain his court. Sid Hamet was made Nabob of Purhunea, with the enjoyment of its revenue, and Mirza Mahmud was made nominal Nabob of Patna. But the old man well knew, no Muſſulman was to be truſted with the power annexed to that Nabobſhip, and therefore ſent one Joninam, a Gentoo, as deputy governor, always obſerving to viſit that province once a year himſelf: And having thus truſted the diſtant provinces to thoſe he thought he could confide in, he in 1751, diſbanded the greateſt part of his forces, relying on his reputation in arms, to keep his neighbours in awe.

Until the year 1752, it was imagined he intended Nowagis Mahmud Caun for his ſucceſſor; but whether he thought his narrow genius unequal to the taſk of government, or was more particularly biaſſed by his great affection to Mirza Mahmud, he this year aſſociated the latter in the government, declared him his ſucceſſor, and procured him from court the title of Chiragëe al Dowla *. This was the ſignal of diſſenſion; and henceforward his court was a continued ſcene of feuds and animoſities betwixt the contending parties. Moſt people who obſerved the ſtrict union between the two nephews, that the eldeſt had amaſſed great riches, and, though a weak effeminate man himſelf, had for his prime miniſter one Hoſſein Cooley Caun, an able politician, and much eſteemed by the army; and the other nephew

* *Lamp of riches.*

I ſhall henceforward write Surajah Dowla, as neareſt the common pronunciation.

poſſeſſed

poffeffed of a rich province, well fecured by rivers and mountains, and daily increafing his forces; and compared with thefe the unpromifing qualities of Surajah Dowla, who was continually immerfed in debauchery, drinking to the utmoft excefs, chufing his companions from the dregs of the people, and giving every indication of a vicious and corrupt mind; moft people, I fay, little imagined the fucceffion would ever fall to him. But, in 1754, the balance feemed to incline to him; for the Soubah determined in his favour, and, apprehenfive Nowagis might prove too powerful for him, thought it expedient to deprive him of his chief fupport in Hoffein Cooley Caun; but as his nephew was deputy-governor of Dacca, they began with him, left Hoffein Cooley Caun fhould fufpect their intentions, retire to Dacca, and fet up for himfelf. The conduct of this affair was left to Surajah Dowla, who chofe for his inftrument one Aga Saddoe, whofe father was governor of Chittigong, but refided at Dacca. The fon, an extravagant debauched youth, was then under confinement at Nowagis Mahumud Caun's palace, being left there as hoftage, till he paid a large fum due for the revenues of his government. Surajah Dowla affifted him in his efcape. He landed at Dacca the firft of December 1755, and engaged his father in the enterprize, deluded probably by the promife of Surajah Dowla, to make him governor of Dacca. The father and fon, with twelve of their dependants, furprized the governor in the dead of night; and, after fome little refiftance, in which the father was wounded, they cut off his head, and proclaimed it to be done by the order of Surajah Dowla: But the next day, an order arriving from Nowagis Mahumud Caun to feize Aga Saddoe, the great men of the city immediately affembled their forces, and at-

tacked him. The ſon, with ſome of his deſperate followers, cut their way through their opponents, and made their eſcape; but the father, and the reſt of their party, were killed. This news reaching the capital, the different parties were immediately in arms; but the old Soubah aſſuring his nephew, that Aga Saddoe had made this attempt entirely in revenge for his confinement, the weak, timid Nowagis was appeaſed, and the conſequence was, that Surajah Dowla, a few days after, murdered Hoſſein Cooley Caun in the ſtreets of Muxadavad. This puſillanimous conduct of Nowagis, made many quit his party, apprehenſive of the ſame fate. The old Soubah now gave evident ſigns of his approaching end. Mens wiſhes and inclinations are apt to deceive their judgments. Surajah Dowla daily rendered himſelf more odious; and great reliance was had on the union of the two brothers. But Providence, for its own wiſe ends, favoured this youth with rapid ſucceſs. Nowagis and Sid Hamet both died a natural death, within a month of each other; and Allyvherde followed them April 10, 1756, firſt giving Surajah Dowla the keys of his treaſure, and declaring his deſire that he ſhould ſucceed him. I have before mentioned Surajah Dowla, as given to hard drinking; but Allyvherde, in his laſt illneſs, foreſeeing the ill conſequences of his exceſſes, obliged him to ſwear on the Koran, never more to touch any intoxicating liquor, which he ever after ſtrictly obſerved. But the exceſſes he had already committed, had diſordered his faculties to that degree, that he had ever after a diſturbed imagination; ſometimes frantic with paſſion, and cruel to thoſe about him; then again careſſing them on equally frivolous grounds; and all his words and actions betrayed a violent and uneven temper. Judges of human nature

nature will be apt to prognoſticate his ſudden fall from ſuch ſymptoms; yet he came to the Soubahſhip with the moſt flattering proſpect. He had an army formed by his predeceſſor, a full treaſury, and no competitors but the ſon of Sid Hamet, in arms in Purhunea, and an infant named Moradda Dowla, ſon to his brother, who had been adopted by Nowagis Mahumud Caun, and was now ſupported by his widow with a party which at firſt appeared formidable; but the attraction of a full treaſury ſoon won that party over, and the widow left alone, was received with the child into his own palace.

I am, etc.

LETTER III.

Sir,

I hope my preceding letter will have given you a clear idea of the government's affairs previous to the capture of Calcutta.

I ſhall now endeavour to trace the ſource of the Soubah's reſentment to our nation, which, I apprehend, is one of thoſe ſtate-myſteries that die with their authors. Where nothing certain can be obtained, we muſt ſelect the moſt plauſible reaſons from ſuch tranſactions as come to our knowledge. I have made it my ſtudy ſince our intercourſe with the great men at court, to penetrate into the cauſe of this event; but could never obtain any thing ſatisfactory. Some have told me, that the late Soubah, on hearing of the death of Nazir Jung, murdered by the intrigues of the French *, had frequently obſerved, that the Europeans were likely to conquer the whole country, and adviſed his grandſon to keep a watchful eye over them. The preſent Soubah, on the other hand, affirms, that he uſed to compare the Europeans to a hive of bees, of whoſe honey you might reap the benefit, but that if you diſturbed their hive they would ſting you to death. Perhaps it is a vain reſearch to trace the motives of a capricious tyrant. But the reaſons Surajah Dowla aſſigned, appear in the terms he propoſed to Mr. Watts; though the moſt probable motives were the hopes of an immenſe plunder, founded on a notion, that all the Rajahs and great men kept their riches in Calcutta: And as Calcutta had the

* See Cambridge's hiſtory of the wars on the coaſt of Coromandel.

reputa-

reputation of being a place of great ftrength, he hoped, by taking it, to ftrike a terror into his own fubjects and into the neighbouring powers, that might facilitate his future enterprizes. But I fhall leave you, Sir, to judge for yourfelf, and proceed to relate only fuch facts as were obvious to every body.

He was in full march againft the Nabob of Purhunea, when fuddenly, May 1757, from fome unaccountable caprice, he returned to the city, and publicly declared his intention to extirpate the Englifh; and without further delay he encamped his whole army oppofite to the Englifh factory at Caffimbuzar, and fummoned Mr. Watts to furrender the place to him; at the fame time fending him a beetle * as a token of friendfhip and affurance of perfonal fafety. Mr. Watts having only five and twenty Europeans in garrifon, and being fenfible, that if he refifted, he expofed all the Englifh effects in the Soubah's dominions to be immediately feized; that at the utmoft he could not hold out above a day or two; and finally, ignorant of the caufe of the Soubah's difpleafure, obeyed the fummons: But, contrary to promife, the Soubah immediately made him prifoner, and prefented him the following articles to fign,

I. That we fhould demolifh all our new fortifications.

II. Give no protection to his fubjects.

III. Make good all that the government had fuffered by the abufe of the duftucks. †

The firft article alluded to fome additional works car-

* An aromatic leaf, which they prefent to their vifitors, in the fame manner the Turks do coffee.

† Meaning the privilege given us by our phirmaund, to grant paffes free of all government duty for all the company's trade.

rying on, on the apprehenſion of an approaching French war.

The ſecond, was to deprive us of the power of protecting our merchants, in which we were privileged by the phirmaund or royal grant; and might alſo allude to the protection given to one of his ſubjects of Nowagis Mahumud Caun's party, who had lately taken refuge in Calcutta.

The third was rather an opening to extort a large ſum of money from the company; for it is almoſt impoſſible but there muſt be ſome abuſe in a privilege of that kind.

Theſe Mr. Watts ſigned, and was then made to give up the factory to him, the gates of which he ordered to be ſealed, and then marched on to Calcutta. Theſe articles were no more heard of, and he ſeemed bent on our deſtruction: And that none might preſume to divert him from his reſolution, he exacted an oath from Jagutſeat, who had always acted as mediator between the government and the Europeans, not to interfere or offer any argument to make him alter his mind. After this, no one dared to plead for the unfortunate Engliſh; and the Soubah, ſurrounded by a thouſand greedy minions and hungry officers, all eager for the plunder of ſo rich a place, heard nothing but the moſt ſervile applauſes of his reſolution. Thus the avenues to juſtice and mercy were ſhut up, and all our ſubmiſſive offers ineffectual. I ſhall not dwell on all the circumſtances of the ſiege, which was ſuch as might naturally be expected from a garriſon conſiſting almoſt entirely of citizens, with a few ſoldiers commanded by officers who had never ſeen an action, and a fort, that looked more like merchants warehouſes than a place of defence. June 19, the enemy had made ſuch progreſs, that a general retreat was determined on for the next day; but whether or not the governor

governor thought himfelf the more immediate object of the Soubah's fury, and therefore his danger greater than the reft, inftead of waiting the appointed time, or giving proper orders to the garrifon, he went out at the River gate, and got on board the firft fhip he could come to. All who chanced to be near, and faw the governor going off, concluded the retreat was general, and rufhed out with him. They feized the boats that were at the water fide, and pufhed as faft as they could for the fhips, where once on board, they ftood down the river. Thofe who remained in the garrifon made a virtue of neceffity, and ftill endeavoured to defend themfelves; but from this time all was defpair, bravery and confufion; and the next evening, their ammunition being almoft expended, and farther defence or a retreat impracticable, they hung out a flag of truce, which the enemy taking for a furrender, they immediately fcaled the walls, killing only fuch as made oppofition. On the Soubah's entering the fort himfelf, he ordered the Englifh into confinement. Unhappily for them, they were ftanding all together near the Black-hole prifon, which appearing to the enemy a fecure place, they were forced into it, maugre all their efforts to avoid it. I fhall not pretend to paint all the horrors of that dreadful night, which has been already fo pathetically defcribed by one of the fufferers * ; but only obferve, that moft of the young gentlemen in the company's fervice, and many of the principal inhabitants, expired in the moft dreadful torments, twenty-three only remaining alive out of one hundred forty-fix. The Soubah gave up the town to be plundered, referving to himfelf only the effects in the fort; and thus facrificed to his capricious folly or ambition an innocent people, whofe trade was the chief fource of his riches.

* Mr. Holwell.

The other European ſettlements were threatened with the ſame fate; but whether they were more politic in their conduct, or that the Soubah was ſatisfied with the blood he had already ſpilt, he contented himſelf with exacting two lacks of rupees from the French, and four from the Dutch, and then marched back to his capital, where he was received with the utmoſt terror and aſtoniſhment, which he endeavoured to extend as much as poſſible, by writing to the court of Dehli, and to his provincial governors, that he had deſtroyed an army of ten thouſand Infidels, and taken four hundred pieces of braſs cannon, and an immenſe quantity of warlike ſtores.

Early in October, he marched againſt his relation, the young Nabob of Purhunea, who was much ſuch a giddy abandoned youth as himſelf, ſuperior to him in nothing but a braver ſpirit. When the two armies drew near each other, the young Nabob was falſely informed, that Surajah Dowla was advanced on an eminence to reconnoitre. Animated at the approach of his rival, and hoping at once to put an end to the war, he haſtened to meet him, at the head of a few troops that chanced to be advanced beyond the reſt of his army; but, inſtead of Surajah Dowla, it proved to be Meer Jaffier and Dus Mahumud Caun, who were very advantageouſly poſted. Still ignorant of his miſtake, he ruſhed forward with great bravery, crying out, "It is the Soubah I ſeek." Meer Jaffier, deſirous to ſave his life, went ſo far as to call out to him, that the Soubah was not there; but when he ſtill preſt on, unwilling, by giving way, to expoſe himſelf to the Soubah's reſentment, he was neceſſitated, in ſelf-defence, to make a vigorous reſiſtance, and in the conflict the Purhunean received his death from a muſket-ball. By this victory, Surajah Dowla arrived at the greateſt height of power a Soubah of Bengal could attain to. He was

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in the prime of his youth; confirmed from Dehli; the provinces ſubdued; no rival left; a vaſt army in his pay; and a full treaſury. Fluſhed with this grandeur, he governed with all the inſolence of unbridled power, dreaded by all, and beloved by none. In the mean time, the wretched remains of our unfortunate colony lay on board a few defenceleſs ſhips at Fulta, the moſt unwholſome ſpot in the country, about twenty miles below Calcutta, and deſtitute of all the common neceſſaries of life: But by the aſſiſtance of the French and Dutch, to whoſe humanity they were much indebted on this occaſion, and partly by the aſſiſtance of the natives, who both from intereſt and attachment privately ſupplied them with all kinds of proviſions, they ſupported the horror of their ſituation till Auguſt, when they received a reinforcement of two hundred and forty men from Fort St. George, under the command of major Kilpatrick, with money and warlike ſtores. But their greateſt miſery was yet to come; for now the ſickly ſeaſon came on; and what with bad air, bad weather, confinement on board of ſhips, and want of proper refreſhments, ſuch a mortality enſued, as ſwept off almoſt all the military, and many of the inhabitants. They continued in this ſituation till the arrival of admiral Watſon, in the month of December, with the king's ſquadron, conſiſting of the Kent, Saliſbury, and Tyger, with two frigates and two Indiamen, having on board ſix hundred Europeans and a thouſand ſeapoys, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Robert Clive; followed by the Cumberland, and another Indiaman, with one hundred Europeans and four hundred ſeapoys, but which were not yet arrived; a force that could give little hopes of ſucceſs, but from the great qualities of the gentlemen that commanded it. Admiral Watſon, was an officer of great bravery, diſintereſtedneſs, and public

ſpirit,

ſpirit. Colonel Clive was a gentleman, who had already eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the war on the coaſt of Coromandel; where, by a long train of glorious ſucceſſes againſt the conſtant ſuperior numbers of the French, he had reſtored the Engliſh affairs at a time when they were thought deſperate: he had lately commanded the land forces on the ſucceſsful expedition againſt Angria; and was now pitched on as the propereſt perſon to reſtore their affairs in Bengal.

It may appear matter of wonder, why the Soubah permitted us to continue ſo quietly at Fulta, till we were become formidable to him, which I can only account for from his mean opinion of us, as he had been frequently heard to ſay, he did not imagine there was ten thouſand men in all Frenghiſtan, meaning Europe, and had no idea of our attempting to return by force, but ſuppoſed that we ſtaid at Fulta, only till the ſeaſon would permit our going out of the river. And, indeed, it is poſſible, that now his anger was ſubſided, he might ſee the folly he had committed; and might wiſh our return on his own terms, which were, to live under his government, without laws or fortifications of our own, and to carry on our trade like the Armenians and his own ſubjects. Whatever the motive was, it was happy for us, and gave us time to prepare every thing to aſſiſt the ſquadron in going up the river; and accordingly December 27, 1756, the troops were embarked, and the fleet ſtood up, and on the twenty-ninth they were re-landed for the attack of Budje Boodjee, a place of ſuch ſtrength, that had they underſtood the art of defence, might have coſt us much trouble. After a moſt fatiguing march, from five in the evening, till ſeven next morning, we came in ſight of the place, while at the ſame time the fleet was got a-breaſt and began to fire. Colonel Clive ordered the grenadiers, volunteers and all the ſeapoys, to go as near

near as they could under cover, and be ready for an aſſault as ſoon as a breach ſhould be made, whilſt the reſt of the army halted in a hollow on the plain, in order to intercept the garriſon, if they attempted to retreat. While we were in this ſituation, and ignorant of any other enemy than thoſe in the place, we were alarmed at the ſight of ſome horſe in our rear; and before we had time to get out of this unlucky ſituation, we found ourſelves almoſt ſurrounded by the enemy, who had got poſſeſſion of the eminences, and began to fire on us. Such a ſudden ſurpriſe might have endangered our little army, had not the colonel acted with great preſence of mind. He immediately detached platoons wherever the enemy appeared moſt formidable; but they, preſumptous from their triumph over us at Calcutta, ſtood with great boldneſs, and killed and wounded eight men of the firſt platoon that advanced; but now we brought a field-piece to bear upon them, which kept them at a greater diſtance; and the detachment that had been made for the aſſault of the fort, being returned on hearing the firing, and having joined us, we marched into the open plain, and diſcovered our enemy to be Monichchund, the Soubah's governor of Calcutta, who was come to throw himſelf into the place, at the head of three thouſand horſe and foot, but being ſtunned with the firing of the king's ſhips, he thought his aſſiſtance would be fruitleſs, and was returning, when he came unexpectedly upon us, and attacked us with much greater bravery than we ever experienced in any engagement we have had with them. In this ſkirmiſh we had twenty-one Europeans killed and wounded, and ſeveral ſeapoys. Monichchund received a ſhot through his turband, loſt his ſecond in command, and about fifty of his men; and was ſo intimidated, by the reception he met with, that without making any ſtay at Calcutta,

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he haftened away to his mafter, to affure him, that thefe were not the fame kind of Englifhmen he had before met with. The fhips foon filenced the fort; and as our little army was not fufficient to furround the place, the garrifon retreated, unknown to us; and as the troops had been very much fatigued, the Colonel propofed to defer the affault till day-break; but fome feamen advancing juft at the clofe of the evening very near, and receiving no fire, they gave a huzza, when fuddenly the whole army, without waiting for orders or officers, rufhed forward over the bridge which the enemy had neglected to break down, and entered at the breach made by the fhips; and in this confufion Captain Dougal Campbell, preffing forward to reftrain the men, was by miftake killed by our own people, to the great concern of the whole army, as he was a brave and capable officer, and a worthy generous man.

January 2, 1757, the troops reimbarked, and Jan. 3, at day-break, were again landed in fight of Calcutta, which the enemy abandoned almoft as foon as our fhips came a-breaft of it, firing only the guns that were ready loaded, which did fome execution on the Tyger, and then Mr. Watfon landed the King's troops, and took poffeffion of the fort. The inhabitants, in the joy of returning to their fettlements, feemed to forget they were returned to empty houfes, and univerfal bankruptcy.

The conduct of political affairs was now vefted in a felect Committee and the Colonel; the Admiral being pleafed to declare, they were the beft judges of the Company's intereft, and that he was ready to execute whatever they thought moft conducive to it. The Committee left the correfpondence with the Soubah to the Colonel, whom we are henceforward to confider as chief negociator of all affairs with the government.

It

It will be proper now to take a view of the prefent ftate of our affairs. The laft advices from Europe were fuch as indicated the greateft probability of an approaching war with France. The French had a confiderable fettlement, called Chandernagore, about thirty miles above us, with a garrifon of more than five hundred Europeans. We well knew, fhould they join the Soubah, it would give him an almoft invincible fuperiority over us. From the fear of the government, and the mutual intereft of both parties, there had hitherto tacitly fubfifted a kind of neutrality within the Ganges, though without any treaty to make it obligatory. It was the undoubted intereft of the French, to force us to confirm this neutrality, or join the Soubah. Senfible of this, they fent a deputation, which arrived a few days after the recovery of Calcutta, with inftructions to court us to this neutrality, or threaten their junction with the Soubah. It was our intereft to amufe the deputies, till we could judge what turn our affairs were likely to take with the Soubah. For this purpofe, fome time was paffed in previous ceremonies; and, on our parts, great willingnefs fhown to accede to the neutrality, conditionally that they fhould unite with us againft the Soubah; but fome doubts being ftarted, whether, being fubordinate to Pondicherry, they had power to bind their fuperiors, they returned to confult their principals. In the mean time, an expedition was fent againft Houghly, under the conduct of Major Kilpatrick, with the King's troops, volunteers, grenadiers, and two companies of Seapoys, fupported by the Bridgwater, and mann'd boats of the fquadron. The enemy were very numerous, having fix thoufand men in the fort and in an adjacent camp. They ftood the affault, which was very bloody to them, with little lofs on our fide. The fort and city were plundered, and as many of the magnificent houfes deftroyed, as the fhort time

time would permit; for now the Soubah was approaching, with different ſentiments than he before entertained of us.

The account given of us by the Houghly fugitives and Monichchund, had made ſuch an impreſſion on him, that he would gladly have conſented to our return on our former footing; but it hurt his pride, to think of having ſatisfaction forced from him by merchants: However, he continued his march, determined to fight, or negotiate, as opportunity gave him advantage. The probability of a war with France, which would require our whole force on the coaſt of Coromandel, the uncertainty of an action, eſpecially if the French ſhould join him, but, above all, a great part of our force not being yet arrived, inclined us to wiſh for honourable peace. At all events, every day gained was an advantage; we were deſtitute of draught and carriage oxen, and many other things abſolutely neceſſary, before we could take the field. A camp was formed on a plain about two miles to the northward of Calcutta, which was made as ſtrong as the ſituation and time would permit; and the Soubah advancing, the troops ſent to Houghly rejoined us; and our whole force now amounted to four hundred battalion, one hundred and twenty train, and one thouſand four hundred Seapoys; for the Cumberland was not yet arrived.

Colonel Clive, on his firſt arrival, had wrote the Soubah, "That Admiral Watſon, commander of the "King's invincible ſhips, and himſelf, a ſoldier, whoſe "conqueſts in Decan might have reached his ears, "were come to revenge the injuries he had done the "Engliſh company; that it would better become him "to ſhew his love of juſtice, by making them ample "ſatisfaction for all their loſſes, than expoſe his coun-

"try

"try to be the ſeat of war." Such a haughty ſtile aſtoniſhed him; he would not deign to anſwer it, but permitted Jagutſeat, and others of the great men, who had letters addreſſed to them to the ſame purpoſe, to anſwer them, and directed them to ſound our diſpoſitions and expectations; and Jagutſeat's agent in camp wrote, by his orders, to deſire the Colonel would ſend a perſon, in whom he could confide, to treat with him; whoſe coming he ſhould wait at a place called Nabob Gunge, twenty miles from our camp; but the very ſame day his van appeared, paſſing our army, as if on their way to Calcutta. This had ſo much the appearance of an intended inſult or deceit, that the Colonel marched out, at the head of four hundred Europeans, and one thouſand Seapoys, with two field pieces; and toward the cloſe of the evening, a cannonading enſued, but the enemy was ſo advantageouſly poſted, that the effect was trifling on either ſide, and night approaching, the Colonel returned to camp. The Soubah, pretending to be ignorant of what had paſſed, ſent a meſſenger to conduct to him whoever the colonel ſhould think fit to ſend, who ſent Meſſieurs Walſh and Scrafton to him: In the mean time, under cover of this negociation, the Soubah himſelf, with his whole army, paſſed in ſight of us, and encamped between our army and the town; which he ridiculouſly thought a maſter-piece of policy, on a falſe notion, that Calcutta, thus deprived of relief, muſt fall into his hands, and our army would be then at his mercy. The two gentlemen were much ſurprized to find, that the Soubah, inſtead of waiting at the place appointed, was already with his army in the ſuburbs of Calcutta. Febr. 4, 1757, at ſeven in the evening, the Soubah gave them audience in Omichund's garden, where he affected to appear

appear in great ſtate, attended by the beſt looking men amongſt his officers, hoping to intimidate them by ſo warlike an aſſembly. After the firſt compliments, they were deſired to retire, and acquaint his miniſters with their propoſals. Prior to any accommodation, they inſiſted on the Soubah's returning to the place from which he firſt offered to treat; but finding the miniſter ſhuffled with them, they deſired a private conference with the Soubah: But his Excellency *, judging from his own treacherous diſpoſition, was ſo firmly perſuaded that they had private arms about them and wanted to aſſaſſinate him, that he could by no means be brought to truſt himſelf alone with them; ſo that, finding the Soubah only intended to amuſe them, they pretended to be ſatisfied, and deſired to depart. The Soubah diſmiſſed them, telling them he expected their return in the morning, with full powers to finiſh every thing; and deſired, before they quitted the camp, they would go to the tent of Jagutſeat's agent, who had ſomething to communicate to them that would be very agreeable to the Colonel.

The Soubah had given orders to detain them there, and propoſed to aſſault the fort the next day; but ſuſpecting his deſign, they put out their lights, puſhed forward, and ſoon gained the camp. On reporting their embaſſy to the Colonel, he determined to attack the enemy at day-break; a reſolution that may appear raſh to many, for the Soubah's army conſiſted of at leaſt ‡ eighteen thouſand horſe, and ſixty

* The term neareſt the title uſually given the Soubah.

‡ As the numbers differ ſo widely from an account lately publiſhed, I think it neceſſary to ſay, I have my authority from the preſent Soubah, who told me Surajah Dowla had in his pay twenty thouſand horſe, and eighty thouſand foot; and as the Soubah was not then engaged in any other war, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe the greateſt part of them were preſent: and their appearance confirmed this conjecture.

thouſand

thousand foot with forty pieces of heavy cannon: but the Colonel considered only the necessity of the attempt and not the danger, for all our black camp-followers had disappeared at the approach of the Soubah's army, and we must very soon have been distressed for provisions. To our force, which I have already mentioned, was added six hundred sailors from the squadron; and the plan of operations was, to nail up the cannon, and push at the head quarters. Febr. 5, we marched at about three in the morning, and our project so far succeeded, that we came upon them unexpectedly; but, when the day appeared, there came on so thick a fog, that it was impossible to discover any object at ten yards distance; and this was the Soubah's preservation; for the fog clearing up for a few minutes, between seven and eight, we found ourselves at a great distance from the head quarters, and exposed to the enemy's artillery, which did great execution amongst us. The country too was full of holes and ditches, which the enemy had lined with musquetry, which did us some mischief; but from this immense army we had no regular attack, except from a large body of Persian horse, who received a general volley from the whole battalion, which obliged them to face about with the loss of near half their number. Thus finding himself disappointed in his principal object, the Colonel ordered the march towards Calcutta.

The enemy now pressed on our rear, and took two of our field pieces, one of which had the carriage broke by the badness of the roads, and we had some men picked off from behind cover. At eleven o'clock we reached the fort, and found our whole loss of killed and wounded was about a hundred and twenty soldiers and sailors, and a hundred seapoys, a considerable diminution

of our ſmall force! But the enemy ſuffered much more, having loſt ſix or ſeven hundred men, killed and wounded, with two general officers, beſides a vaſt number of oxen, camels, horſes and elephants: That there might be no doubt of our victory, our army marched out again in the evening to their former camp, the route being within a mile of the Soubah's head quarters, though covered with a wood; but the morning's alarm had ſtruck ſuch terror into them, that, far from attacking us, they were ready for confuſed flight, with which we could not at that time be acquainted. The greateſt advantage we reaped from this action, was in the effect it had upon the Soubah, who was not only intimidated by the boldneſs of the attempt, but ſtruck with his own imprudence, in having expoſed himſelf to be attacked at ſuch a diſadvantage. To add to his uneaſineſs, he thought he diſcovered ſome appearance of diſaffection in ſome of his principal officers, particularly in Meer Jaffier, whoſe conduct in this affair had been very myſterious. The Soubah's army paſſed that night under arms, in continual apprehenſion of being attacked; and early in the morning he ſent a meſſenger to enquire the cauſe of our behaviour, and to renew the treaty; and, under cover of this negotiation, he thought himſelf very happy in quitting the neighbourhood of Calcutta, and encamping on a plain within ſight of our army. Had he continued there but one day longer, the Colonel intended to have had a battery on Dum Dumma bridge, which would have commanded to the Lake, and put his army intirely at our mercy. But now, only ſenſible of our own loſs, and ignorant of the effect it had on the enemy, we gladly renewed the treaty, which in two days was ſigned by both parties, and of which the following are the articles.

Firſt

First was a paper ſignifying, that from this time hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe between his Excellency the Soubah of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, and the Engliſh company; and that there ſhould be perpetual friendſhip between them; which was ſigned by the Admiral, Colonel, Governor, and council, on behalf of the company, and one in the ſame terms, delivered by the Soubah.

Articles ſigned and ſealed by his Excellency Surajah Dowla, Soubah of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, dated February 9, 1757.

I. Whatever rights and privileges the king has granted the Engliſh company in their Phirmaunds,* and Huſbulhookums,† ſhall be acknowledged, and ſtand good; whatever villages have been given to the company by the Phirmaunds, notwithſtanding they have been with-held by former Soubahs, ſhall be given up to them; nor ſhall the Zemindars oppoſe their taking poſſeſſion of thoſe villages. *Agreed to.*

II. All goods paſſing and repaſſing through the country, by land or by water, with Engliſh duſtucks, ſhall be exempted from any tax, fee, or impoſition, of the Gantwattas, Choqueedars, Zemindars,‡ or others. *Agreed to.*

III. All the company's factories ſeized by the Soubah, ſhall be returned; all the money, goods, and effects belonging to the company, their ſervants and tenants, which have been ſeized and taken by the Soubah, ſhall be reſtored; and what has been plundered by his people, made good by the payment of ſuch a ſum of money, as his juſtice ſhall think reaſonable. *I will reſtore only what has been accounted for in the government books.*

* Patents or papers ſigned by the Mogul.

† Patents or papers ſigned by the Vizier.

‡ Officers belonging to the Cuſtoms.

IV. The Company ſhall be allowed to fortify Calcutta, in ſuch manner as they ſhall think proper, without hindrance or obſtruction. *Agreed to.*

V. And to coin ſiccas,* both of gold and ſilver, of equal fineneſs with thoſe of Muxadavad, which ſhall paſs current through the provinces. *Agreed to.*

Then followed the Soubah's ſeal; and having ſworn to fulfil the ſame, Meer Jaffier, and Roydullub, two of his general officers, underſigned it as ſecurities.

The Soubah then ſent the uſual preſent to the Governor, Admiral, and Colonel, conſiſting each of an elephant dreſs, and head jewel, which were received by the Governor and Colonel, as repreſentatives of the company. Mr. Watſon, as repreſentative of the King, refuſed to accept the preſent; but received the Soubah's officers who brought it in a very polite manner on board the Kent, and diſplayed to them his lower tyre of thirty-two pounders, of which they made a dreadful report to their maſter, who not conceiving any great liking to his new friends, marched with all haſte to the capital, happily for his ſubjects, ſomewhat humbled by his late defeat. Mr. Watts being well verſed in the country language, and in their politics and cuſtoms, accompanied the Soubah to attend the fulfilling of the treaty.

I left the French deputies on their return to Chandernagore, to conſult their principals on the extent of their powers. The attack of Houghly, and the haſty march of the Soubah, had impeded the negotiation, which they now reſumed, having firſt been tampering with the Soubah about a junction with him, which would certainly have taken place, had we not puſhed our affairs with ſuch vigour. In this in-

* Current coin.

terval

terval arrived the certain news of a declaration of war againſt France; notwithſtanding which it was long debated, whether it were not moſt for the company's intereſt to accept the neutrality? and ſo far carried in the affirmative, that the majority were for it; the articles drawn up; and nothing wanting, but Mr. Watſon's approbation, which ſeemed ſo little doubted of, that part of the troops were already ordered to embark for Madraſs, and the French deputies were fully perſuaded it was agreed to, and waited only the formality of execution: but while things were in this ſtate, Admiral Pocock arrived in the Cumberland, with the reſt of the troops, and an unexpected reinforcement of three hundred men from Bombay. Admiral Watſon, apprehenſive he might be reflected on, ſhould he neglect ſuch an opportunity of diſtreſſing the common enemy, heſitated ſigning; and a proſpect of further troubles in the country determined him to delay it for the preſent. The Afghuans, mountaineers who poſſeſs Candahar and the mountains that divide Perſia from Hindoſtan, encouraged by the ſucceſs of Nadir Shah, entered the country with ſo powerful an army, commanded by an old officer of the Shah's, named Abdalla Caun, that the court of Dehli, unable to reſiſt, ſubmitted to the conqueror; and news now came, that he intended to viſit the eaſtern provinces. This news alarmed the Soubah, who acquainted the colonel with it, and dropped ſome hints of wanting his aſſiſtance. The Colonel on the firſt advices, croſſed the Ganges, which was equally convenient, either to march to Chandernagore, or to the Soubah. This new accident, together with the advices received from Mr. Watts, decided the fate of the French ſettlement, by determining the reſult of the neutrality. Mr. Watts found, that the French had, by the prevailing power

of corruption, won over to their intereſt ſeveral courtiers, who were moſt in the Soubah's confidence; and had certain information, that the Soubah had wrote for Monſ. Buſſey, who commanded a large army in the Decan; that we might be aſſured he would never fulfill the treaty, but would infallibly join the French, and fall on us, whenever our ſquadron and forces left the river; that the only way to prevent it, was, to attack the French, while he was influenced by his fears of the Afghuans. Mr. Watts's judgment will hereafter appear to be well founded, as the Soubah had already ſent a large body of troops to aſſiſt the French; had returned the two lacks of rupees taken from them the year before; and had entered into ſome private negotiation with the French governor, wherein he promiſed him the government of Houghly, a mint, and other advantages. His eſpouſing their cauſe ſo warmly, made us ſtill cautious of provoking him too far; but Mr. Watts made ſo artful a uſe of his fears of the Afghuans, obſerving to him that we could never think of leaving our ſettlement to be attacked by the French in caſe he required our aſſiſtance againſt them, that, partly by ſuch arguments, and, taught by the French the power of money at the Soubah's court, partly by a handſome preſent of money to his firſt ſecretary, he produced the following letter from him to Mr. Watſon.

" Your agreeable letter, acknowledging the receipt " of mine, which you tell me has diſpelled your " anxiety; that you had hitherto forbore attacking the " French, out of regard to me; that you had pre- " pared reaſonable articles; had ſent for them, and " told them to ſign them; that they gave for an- " ſwer, if any future commander ſhould diſapprove " them, they had not power to overrule him; that " therefore peace had not taken place, with other

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" disagreeable circumstances; I have received, and I " have well considered it. If it be true, that one " Frenchman does not approve, and abide by a treaty " entered into by another, no confidence is to be " placed in them. The reason of my forbidding war " in my country is, I look on the French as " my own subjects, because they have, in this affair, " implored my protection; for which reason I wrote " to you to make peace with them, or else I had " neither pleaded for them, nor protected them: But " you are a generous and wise man, and well know " if an enemy comes to you with a clear heart, to " implore your mercy, his life should be granted him; " that is, if you think him pure of heart; but if you " mistrust his sincerity, ACT ACCORDING TO THE " TIME AND OCCASION."

This letter may be very well understood, as a consent to our attacking the French, though it certainly was never meant as such; for he had not only his colours flying, and a body of men at Chandernagore, but had ten thousand men marching towards us, under the command of Roydullub, who were advanced as far as Placis, near thirty miles from the capital; another of four or five thousand still nearer, under the command of Monichchund: But another well applied bribe to Nimcomar, the Governor of Houghly, removed all obstacles; for it persuaded him to withdraw the troops under his command from Chandernagore, and to write the Soubah, " That as the French were by no means " able to resist the English, he had therefore ordered " his troops to Houghly, lest his victorious colours " should be involved in their disgrace." This the Soubah approved of; and wrote to Roydullub and Monichchund to proceed no farther. Thus, floating between his fears and wishes, he shamefully abandoned

thofe whom he was bound, both for his honour and intereft, to fupport; and now no farther obftacle remaining, Colonel Clive, who was advanced almoft to the limits of Chandernagore, as if on his way to join the Soubah, immediately began the fiege.

The fort was a regular fquare, mounting twelve twenty-four pounders on each baftion, with feveral cannon mounted en barbette; a fine ravelin before the gate to the river fide; the ditch imperfect; no glacis; and but a fmall efplanade of about two hundred and fifty yards: and had of foldiers, failors, and other Europeans, near fix hundred men in garrifon, befides three hundred good feapoys. It was invefted on the thirteenth of March. The fourteenth the French abandoned their outworks; and from that time to the twenty-fecond were moftly employed in erecting two batteries, which were then ready. On the twenty-third Mr. Watfon, joined by Mr. Pocock, (who on his fhips arrival at Ballafore, hearing what was going forward, to partake of the glory of the action, came up in a light boat, and hoifted his flag on board the Tyger) paffed the fhips the French had funk, owing to their neglect in finking them fo wide as to leave a paffage between them, and at feven in the morning the fhips came a-breaft of the fort, and the land-batteries were opened. For two hours it was as bloody an engagement as any during the whole war. The Kent lay expofed to a terrible fire from the flank of the inland baftion, by the tide failing, and preventing her coming to her proper ftation. In this attack, Captain Speke, the Admiral's Captain, whofe wife counfels and enterprifing fpirit contributed much to the great fuccefs of this little fquadron in India, had part of his leg carried away by the fame ball that unfortunately killed his fon. Mr. Perrault, firft Lieutenant, and feveral other officers, were killed. The Tyger alfo fuffered very con-

confiderably in men and officers, and Mr. Pocock himfelf received a flight wound. But the French, having feveral guns difmounted; their parapet almoft demolifhed by the fire of the fhips; their whole curtain enfiladed by the fire of our mufquetry from the tops of the houfes of the town; and a breach nearly made; capitulated, and had favourable terms granted them. The army fuffered but very little, but the fquadron had above a hundred and forty killed and wounded. The goods found in the warehoufe were fold for the benefit of the army and navy, and produced about ten lacks of rupees. The fquadron returned to Calcutta, but the army encamped at the back of Chandernagore. Surajah Dowla was in great agitation of mind during the fiege, fometimes threatening Mr. Watts, and fometimes careffing him, conformable to the news of the day; but, when the fatal news of the furrender of the place was communicated to him by a letter from the Colonel, wherein he afcribed his fucceffes to the favour of heaven and his Excellency's aufpices, under which his arms had been fo fortunate; he affected to conceal his chagrin in outward demonftrations of joy, and wrote the Colonel the moft pompous congratulations upon the occafion. To complete his confufion, he now received the news of the Afghuans return to their own country, having carried away almoft as great a treafure as Shah Nadir; and alfo of Monf. Buffey's being obliged to return to quiet fome troubles that had broke out in the Decan: So that looking on us as his only enemies, and fenfible of his folly in abandoning the French to us, he determined to protect the fmall remainder of them, which was about a hundred men, collected together at Caffimbuzar, under the command of Monf. Laws, and to diffemble his refentment, till the return of our fquadron and forces to the coaft gave him an opportunity to fall on us again,

and

and extirpate us for ever. But as the whole tenor of his conduct ſtrongly indicated, that he had views of farther ſervice from this body of French, Mr. Watſon wrote him, "that if he continued to protect the king's enemies, "he would light up a flame in his country, that all the "waters of the Ganges ſhould not quench." Thus intimidated, he obliged the French to quit the province, and to retire to Patna, where he kept them in reſerve againſt the long wiſhed for moment, when the return of our forces to the coaſt ſhould leave us expoſed to his revenge. From the time he heard that Chandernagore was taken, he never enjoyed a moment's peace of mind. His imagination was ever haunted by dreadful notions of the king's ſhips, which he was told, and was idle enough to believe, could be brought up the Ganges, cloſe to his capital; and, to prevent it, he dammed up the mouth of the Caſſimbuzar river. To encreaſe his apprehenſions, our army ſtill continued in camp near Houghly. Theſe circumſtances, together with the mortification of refunding the plunder of Calcutta, and the repeated demands of the French, would ſometimes make his anger burſt out from under the veil of diſſimulation with which he endeavoured to cover it. In one of thoſe tranſports, he determined to break with us, and ordered Meer Jaffier, with a large body of troops, to join thoſe at Placis, promiſing him a reward of ten lacks of rupees the day he returned victorious; and ſent for Mr. Laws to come down immediately from Patna, for that he was determined to fall on us, and turned our vacqueel * out of the durbar. But theſe fits of valour were of ſhort duration; his fears again prevailed; the march of the troops was countermanded; the vacqueel honoured with a dreſs; Mr. Watts careſſed; and his

* The company's repreſentative at the Nabob's durbar or court.

revenge

revenge ſmothered, till it might blaze forth with more ſecurity. But he had now given ſuch ſtrong indications of his reſolution never to forgive us, that Colonel Clive, neceſſitated by theſe repeated proofs of the Soubah's perfidious intentions, recommended to Mr. Watts the forming of a party to join us, in caſe things ſhould come to extremes, which many circumſtances concurred to facilitate. The Soubah, by the ſeverity and capriciouſneſs of his temper, had made himſelf many ſecret enemies, both in his court and army. The old miniſters of his predeceſſors were obliged to give way to new favourites, choſen from the dregs of the people; and there was hardly one of them but had, in his ſtarts of paſſion, been threatened with death; while mutual miſtruſt prevented their taking any meaſures for their preſervation. At laſt one of them, named Coda Yar Caun Laitte, thinking there was more confidence to be placed in us than in his own countrymen, ſent a meſſage to Mr. Watts, that he had ſomething of great importance to communicate to him, and wiſhed to ſee him. Mr. Watts was too cloſely watched by the Soubah's ſpies, to venture himſelf, but ſent one Omichund to him, who was an agent under him. To him he opened his mind freely, acquainting him with his own danger; aſſured him the Soubah was firmly bent on extirpating us; and made a tender of his ſervices: Omichund confirmed him in his fears of the Soubah, and gave him hopes his propoſals would be accepted. A few days after, Mr. Watts was agreeably ſurpriſed to receive propoſals of the like nature from Meer Jaffier, a general of the firſt rank, and nearly related to the Soubah, by his marriage with Allyvherde Caun's ſiſter. I have before mentioned, that this gentleman's myſterious conduct in the laſt battle, where he kept himſelf

felf at a diftance, waiting to fee what iffue the affair was likely to have, had made the Soubah fufpicious of him, as well as of Roydullub, for his clofe connection with him. The uneven temper of the Soubah could never long retain its difguife; for though he affected an exaggerated friendfhip for thofe he intended to deftroy, yet his real fentiments would now and then efcape him; and he had been frequently heard to fay, he would have the heads of them both. This had been told them, and fufficiently warned them to provide for their fafety; fo that Meer Jaffier and Roydullub both judged the Englifh protection would be a port of fafety to them. They fent a man privately to Mr. Watts, to let him know how they ftood affected, and to affure him, that Surajah Dowla was determined never to forgive the Englifh the difgrace of his late defeat, and waited only a proper opportunity to fall on them again; and concluded with a hint that many of the principal officers of the army, whofe lives were in continual jeopardy, from the cruel and capricious temper of the Soubah, had determined to depofe him; that if the Englifh would fupport Meer Jaffier in his views on the Soubahfhip, he would readily make any conceffions that might be deemed neceffary to indemnify the Englifh for the loffes they had fuftained, and to render their trade advantageous to them. Thefe propofals were received with great fatisfaction; and Mr. Watts acquainted the Colonel and the gentlemen below with it, who immediately impowered him to treat, and fettle the plan of operations with Meer Jaffier. Mr. Watts had an interview with Meer Jaffier, who reprefented to him, that nothing could be done while the Nabob's army was in the field, as it feparated him from the heads of his party, and hindered him from concerting proper meafures

meafures with him. It was agreed therefore, to lull the Soubah into a firm perfuafion of our peaceable intentions, and to try, by diffimulation, to remove this obftacle. For this purpofe, the Colonel ordered the army into quarters, and wrote the Soubah, "That " while the armies continued in the field, their enemies " would be endeavouring to interrupt that perfect har- " mony and friendfhip which fubfifted between them ; " that he had therefore put his army into quar- " ters ; and, though he had no reafon to doubt his " Excellency's ftrict adherence to, and full compliance " with, all the articles of the treaty, yet, neverthelefs, " he wifhed he would difappoint thofe hopes their " mutual enemies entertained, by withdrawing his ar- " my from Placis, and that he would haften the pay- " ment of the money, and other articles of the treaty." The Soubah was glad to be freed from the uneafinefs our army gave him by being in the field, thanked the Colonel for this proof of his friendfhip, and promifed to put his troops into quarters : But thefe words were too inconfonant to his fchemes, to be followed by actions ; for he ftill continued his army encamped, and prolonged to the utmoft the execution of the treaty. By the happy ufe of an unexpected event, this obftacle was removed, and the Soubah became the dupe of his own projects.

The Mharattas, hearing of the troubles in Bengal, and thinking it a proper opportunity to annex fo rich a province to their, already too, extenfive empire, wrote to the governor of Calcutta, the following letter :

Ballajeerew Sechco Bajeroy, vizir to Ram Rajah, brother to Rajah Sehoo, from Hydrabad, to Roger Drake governor of Calcutta.

" I have a long time wiſhed for a meeting with you, " which the great diſtance has prevented; every thing " proſpers with me; and it is my wiſh that ſucceſs " attend you, with long life and happineſs: Your " misfortunes have been related to me by Ragooje, " ſon to Janoogëe. Make yourſelf eaſy, and be my " friend. Send me your propoſals, ſuch as you imagine " may be for the beſt; and, with the Divine aſſiſ- " tance, Sumſeer Caun Bhadre, and Ragoo Baboo, " ſon to Bajorey, ſhall enter Bengal with a hundred " and twenty thouſand horſe; beſides, there are other " forces ſhall be ready at your call, if you have need " of them, having wrote to Meu Caun to proceed to " you, whenever you ſhall write to him to that " effect. Whatever goods and riches you have loſt " in Bengal, the double of its value ſhall be reſtored " by me. Do not, on any account, make peace " with the Nabob. In a few days my forces ſhall " enter Bengal, and the trade of that province ſhall " be entirely yours. Govinroy will relate to you " farther particulars: To him communicate what force " you have need of, and due regard ſhall be paid to " your directions. The French ſhall not remain in " Bengal: Your forces ſhall keep them out by ſea, " mine by land." The perſon mentioned in the letter had a private conference with Colonel Clive, wherein he confirmed the contents. The Colonel's firſt reflection was, that this might poſſibly be an invention of the Soubah to ſound his intentions; when ſuddenly, with that quickneſs of thought by which he is ſo diſtinguiſhed on all emergencies, he determined to turn the ſtratagem on the head of the inventor, by ſending the

the letter to the Soubah himſelf; which, if his ſuſpicions were juſt, would deceive the Soubah into a firm perſuaſion, that we had no jealouſy of his deſigns; or, if the letter was real, would awe him by the fear of ſo powerful an alliance. Mr. Scrafton was accordingly diſpatched with theſe propoſals, accompanied by a letter from the Colonel; in which he wrote him, "That notwithſtanding he had put the army into "quarters, and given every proof his Excellency could "require of his firm intentions to obſerve the peace, "he was not yet ſo happy as to gain his Excel-"lency's confidence, who ſtill kept a large army en-"camped at Placis, which ſeemed to hang like an im-"pending ſtorm over our heads; kept the provinces "alarmed; and prevented the merchants from reſort-"ing to Calcutta: That he had but one proof more "to give him of his ſincerity, which the bearer would "acquaint him with. If that would not ſuffice, he "ſhould think himſelf for ever baniſhed from his "confidence and friendſhip."

The Soubah, who had been informed by his ſpies of the interview between the Colonel and the Mharatta agent, and of his letter being on the way, was impatient to know the contents. Mr. Watts introduced Mr. Scrafton to the Soubah, and they found him accompanied by Naranſing, the head ſpy, Monichchund, and Jagutſeat. The Soubah affected to be charmed with the Colonel's letter, which was enforced by every argument ſuitable to the occaſion; he expreſſed ſome doubts of the Colonel's ſincerity, but found himſelf obliged to put on the appearance of conviction, when the Mharatta's letter was delivered to him: Having read it, he broke forth into loud acclamations to the Colonel's praiſe; and, thinking now to deceive us by this feigned confidence, ſaid, he would order his army

army into quarters; and did not doubt but our fleet and army would quit the country as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit; and deſired we would go to Rajah Mohemloll, his prime miniſter, to whom he had given orders to finiſh our affairs; and immediately ordered the troops into the city.

The miniſter acted the ſame part as his maſter; but, like an old practitioner in miniſterial arts, propoſed, that the Colonel ſhould ſend up a diſcharge in full of all ſums ſtipulated by the treaty, though nothing was yet determined with reſpect to the thirty-eight villages,* and very little progreſs made in the reſt of the treaty, and that by the time it arrived, the whole ſhould be diſcharged. The Soubah returned the Colonel a favourable anſwer, and told the gentleman who carried the letter, that he expected him back in a week with the deſired diſcharge, and then he would reward him with great preſents and honours.

Every thing was now in a fair way; the Placis army broken up and put into quarters; and Meer Jaffier, after having conſulted with Roydullub and the heads of his party, concluded the following treaty with Mr. Watts, and promiſed to join us as ſoon as the armies drew near each other: We, on our parts, promiſed, by the bleſſing of God on our arms, to make him Soubah of the three provinces.

Treaty executed by Meer Mahumud Jaffier Caun Bahader.

I ſwear by God and the Prophet of God, to abide by the terms of this treaty whilſt I have life.†

Treaty made with Admiral Watſon, Colonel Clive, and the other Counſellors Mr. Drake and Mr. Watts.

* See the firſt article of the treaty, page 67.

† Theſe words were written in his own hand, at the beginning of the Treaty, and were underſigned by him.

Art. I.

Art. I. Whatever articles were agreed upon in the time of peace with the Nabob Surajah Dowla, I agree to comply with.

II. The enemies of the Engliſh are my enemies, whether they be Indians or Europeans.

III. All the effects and factories belonging to the French in the province of Bengal, the paradiſe of nations, and Bahar, and Oriſſa, ſhall remain in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, nor will I ever allow them any more to ſettle in the three provinces.

IIII. In conſideration of the loſſes which the Engliſh Company have ſuſtained by the capture and plunder of Calcutta by the Nabob, and the charges occaſioned by the maintenance of the forces, I will give them one Crore of rupees.

V. For the effects plundered from the Engliſh inhabitants at Calcutta, I agree to give fifty lacks of rupees.

VI. For the effects plundered from the Gentoos, Moors, and other inhabitants of Calcutta, twenty lacks of rupees ſhall be given.

VII. For the effects plundered from the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta, I will give the ſum of ſeven lacks of rupees.

The diſtribution of the ſums allotted to the Engliſh, Gentoo, Moor, and other inhabitants of Calcutta, ſhall be left to Admiral Watſon, Colonel Clive, Roger Drake, William Watts, James Kilpatrick, and Richard Beecher, Eſquires, to be diſpoſed of by them, to whom they think proper.

VIII. Within the ditch which ſurrounds the borders of Calcutta are tracts of land belonging to ſeveral Zemindars; beſides theſe, I will grant to the Engliſh Company ſix hundred yards without the ditch.

VIIII. All the land lying ſouth of Calcutta, as far as Culpee, ſhall be under the Zemindary of the Engliſh Company; and all the officers of thoſe parts ſhall be

under their jurisdiction. The revenues to be paid by the Company in the same manner with other Zemindars.

X. Whenever I demand the assistance of the English, I will be at the charge of the maintenance of their troops.

XI. I will not erect any new fortifications near the river Ganges, below Houghly.

XII. As soon as I am established in the three provinces, the aforesaid sums shall be faithfully paid.

Dated the fifteenth of the month Ramzan, in the fourth year of the present reign.*

There was a separate treaty stipulating the payment of fifty lacks to the army and navy.

Our affairs were now drawing to a crisis, when an event happened, that had like to have blasted all our hopes. Whether any thing of our connections with Meer Jaffier had reached the Soubah's ears, or whether he had before projected his destruction and thought this the properest opportunity while we seemed so quiet, is uncertain; but Meer Jaffier thought himself in such danger, that he would no longer venture to go to court, and on his disobedience of the Soubah's summons, his death was resolved upon. The artillery was pointed against his house, and the troops ordered to surround it. Meer Jaffier acquainted the Colonel with his situation, and wrote him, that nothing could extricate him from the danger he was in, but the news of his march. The die was cast, and on the thirteenth of June, the whole army marched forward, and the Colonel wrote the Soubah, the very day of his march, to the following purport. "That from his great reputation for justice, and faith-"ful observance of his word, he had been induced to "make peace with him, and to pass over the loss of many "Crores of rupees sustained by the English in the cap-"ture of Calcutta, and to rest content with what-"ever he in his justice and generosity should restore

* June 1757.

"to

" to them; that his Excellency had not thought fit to " set any value on the friendship of the English, but " had in every thing discouraged as much as possible the " company's business, by turning their vaqueel disgrace- " fully from his presence, refusing free passage to the " English through his country, intercepting their trade, " and searching their factory at Cassimbuzar for am- " munition and warlike stores, on pretence of their in- " tending an attempt on his life, in the time of pro- " found peace, threatening them with an instant rupture, " if they did not submit to the search; that these were " but trifles, compared to his open and avowed protec- " tion of the King's enemies, of which his letters to " Monf. Bussey, wrote but a few days after his entering " into a solemn treaty with us, inviting him to his coun- " try, was a flagrant proof; that his protection and " allowance of ten thousand rupees per month, to " Monf. Laws, and many other circumstances, were not " only so many deviations from the treaty, but evident- " ly shewed his Excellency's intention to fall upon " the English, as soon as the absence of their troops " might expose them to it; that the main article of " the treaty was infringed, in his proffering only a " fifth part of the sum paid into the treasury, for the " plunder of Calcutta, and yet demanding a discharge " for the whole. The Colonel complained bitterly of " so many insults put upon him, and reminded the Sou- " bah how different his own conduct was, when called " upon to assist him against the Pattans. He solemnly de- " clared, his intentions were to have fought for him " to the last drop of his blood; but seeing his Excel- " lency had chosen his friends from among his enemies, " and had in every respect deviated from his engage- " ments, he had determined, with the approbation of " all who were charged with the company's affairs, to " proceed immediately to Cassimbuzar, and submit their

 " disputes

" disputes to the arbitration of Meer Jaffier, Roydullub, " Jagutseat, and others of his great men: That if " it should be found, that he, the Colonel, had deviated " from the treaty, he then swore to give up all further " claims; but, that, if it appeared his Excellency had " broke it, he should then demand satisfaction for all " the losses sustained by the English, and all the char- " ges of their army and navy; and concluded with " telling him, that the rains being so near, and it re- " quiring many days to receive an answer, he had found " it necessary to wait upon him immediately."

There are some affairs alluded to, which I thought too trifling to mention in the course of this account.

Some hours before the Soubah had received the Colonel's letter, Mr. Watts, and the gentlemen of Cassimbuzar, had made their escape by a speedy flight, which left the Soubah no further doubt of our intentions. And here let me pause a little, to do justice to the eminent services the public received from Mr. Watts, in the course of this great affair; his admirable assiduity and penetration, in discovering the Soubah's treacherous negociation with the French; the right judgment he had formed of the Soubah's intentions to extirpate us, whenever the absence of our forces gave him the opportunity; and his great firmness and constancy, in remaining in the Soubah's capital, even after our army had begun its march, redound greatly to his honour.

Affairs between the Soubah and Meer Jaffier were now at a crisis. Some of the few who were faithful to the Soubah, assured him it was at Meer Jaffier's instigation that we marched up, and advised him to fall on him immediately; but others of Meer Jaffier's party, who were in his confidence, persuaded him to make up the breach for the present, and defer his designs to some more favourable occasion. If the Soubah erred before in abandoning the French, he doubly

doubly erred now, in admitting a ſuſpicious friend and one whoſe death he was ſtill determined on, to continue in the charge of a great body of troops, which ſelf-defence would have taught him to make uſe of for his own preſervation. He was ſenſible of his weakneſs; but inſtead of having reſolution to riſe above it, and terminating his fears at once by the attack of Meer Jaffier, he endeavoured to deceive him by the thin diſguiſe of grace and pardon confirmed by oaths. The Koran was introduced, the accuſtomed pledge of their falſehood, the Soubah ſwore he would never attempt his life, Meer Jaffier, that he would be his faithful ſoldier, and fight for him to the laſt drop of his blood. They parted with ſmiles on their countenances and treachery in their hearts, each happy in the thought of over-reaching the other; and now we were the grand object of their attention. The Soubah immediately took the field, with about twenty thouſand horſe, and fifty thouſand foot, and fifty pieces of heavy cannon; whilſt our army, conſiſting of a thouſand Europeans, and two thouſand ſeapoys, with ſix field pieces, and a ſmall detachment of ſailors from the ſquadron, were advanced partly by land, and partly by water, as far as the town of Cutiva. Three days were paſſed there in the moſt uneaſy ſuſpenſe, waiting for intelligence of the iſſue of the diſpute between the Soubah, and our ally Meer Jaffier. In this doubtful interval, the majority of our officers were againſt croſſing the river, and every thing bore the face of diſappointment; but, on the twenty ſecond of June the Colonel received a letter from Meer Jaffier, which determined him to hazard a battle, and he paſſed the river at five in the evening. The Soubah was now within twenty miles of us; but far from being puffed up with the ſuperiority of his numbers, he betrayed his anxiety at the approaching moment, when his life and government were

to be expoſed to the iſſue of a battle. Miſtruſt of his own army, and the dread of an enemy, who had before defeated him, made him preſage the worſt, and a trifling circumſtance, which he took for an ill omen, confirmed him in his fears: It is indeed the effect alone which can excuſe my mentioning it.

As he was ſitting in his tent, the evening before the battle, revolving in his mind the doubtful iſſue, his attendants imperceptibly left him one by one till he was alone; when a fellow entered, unperceived by the Soubah, and carried off the gold top of the hookah he was ſmoaking, and cut off ſome of the broad-cloth of his tent. It ſhocked his ſoul to think, that he, whoſe frowns were death but in the morning, ſhould now be ſo little feared: He called for his attendants, and cried, with great emotion, "Sure they ſee me dead."

However, with an appearance of compoſure, ill ſuited with the pangs he felt, he ordered the diſpoſition of his army, and began his march before day-break. Ours, after a moſt fatiguing march from five in the evening till one in the morning, which was abſolutely neceſſary, in order to be poſſeſſed of Placis town and grove before the enemy could reach it, halted in the grove till day-break; when the Soubah's army appeared marching from their fortified camp before-mentioned, and what with the number of elephants all covered with ſcarlet cloth and embroidery, their horſe with their drawn ſwords gliſtering in the ſun, their heavy cannon drawn by vaſt trains of oxen, and their ſtandards flying, they made a moſt pompous and formidable appearance: And their diſpoſition, as well as the regular manner in which they formed, ſeemed to ſpeak greater ſkill in war than we expected from them. But what avails pomp and parade, where the heart is not fired by loyalty to its prince, or love to its country?

At

At ſix in the morning, June 23, the enemy was diſcovered marching in a deep column from their old camp. Between every body of four or five thouſand was a part of their artillery. In this order they continued marching as if they intended to ſurround us, as far as the river would permit; but as ſoon as their rear was got out of the camp, they halted, and a body of about fifty French advanced in front of the reſt, their officer calling out in vain for ſome of the Soubah's troops to follow him: For ſuch was their miſtruſt of each other, that no commander dared to venture on ſingly, for fear ſome other commander, ſuſpected of attachment to us, ſhould fall on him. Theſe advanced under cover of an eminence, to within about five hundred paces of us, and then began a general cannonading. Our little army was at firſt drawn up without the bank which ſurrounded the grove, but we ſoon found ſuch a ſhower of balls pouring upon us from their fifty pieces of cannon, moſt of which were thirty two and twenty four pounders, that we retired under cover of the bank, leaving two field pieces without, whilſt the other four kept playing through the breaches in the bank. In this poſture both armies remained till about twelve; when a heavy ſhower of rain falling, the enemy's horſe advanced, as if they meant to take the advantage of it: but when they found our field-pieces kept firing, notwithſtanding the rain, it checked their ardour. The rain ceaſing, the cannonading continued till about four in the afternoon, when they began to retire to their old camp, their artillery marching in firſt. And now we took notice of a large body on our left, moving in ſuch a manner, as to make it doubtful whether their aim was to poſſeſs themſelves of the village on our left, or whether they were friends, and wanted to join us. However, as no

 ſignal

ſignal had been agreed on, owing to the miſcarriage of a meſſenger who had been diſpatched to us in the morning by Meer Jaffier, we kept them at a diſtance with our field pieces. When all their artillery was got within their camp, Major Kilpatrick moved forward with about two hundred whites and three hundred ſeapoys, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the eminence, where the French had been, till they retired with the reſt. On this motion, the enemy ſeemed inclined to come out again on the plain; but Colonel Clive ordering all our fire to be directed againſt their oxen and drivers, after ſeveral attempts they were obliged to give over; and ſeveral large bodies of horſe began to advance on us, and take poſſeſſion of an adjacent eminence; but we preſently obſerved their elephants unruly, and great confuſion amongſt them. The Colonel, conceiving this the moment on which the ſucceſs of the day depended, immediately ordered the eminence and their camp to be aſſaulted by the advanced body, and the whole army to march forward. The enemy ſtood their ground at the eminence, long enough to receive a general volley, when they faced about with great precipitation; and ſome of their ammunition blowing up, juſt as Colonel Clive was marching up to their camp, it put them into ſuch a confuſion as made them incapable of reſiſtance, and the rout became general. Their camp, baggage, and cannon, all fell into our hands; and we continued the purſuit all night. Thus was this glorious and deciſive victory obtained with the trifling loſs of about ſeventy men killed and wounded on our ſide, and about five or ſix hundred on the enemy's.

One great cauſe of our ſucceſs was, that in the very beginning of the action, we had the good fortune to kill Meer Modun, one of the Soubah's beſt and

and moſt faithful officers, which ſtruck ſuch a terror into him, that he ſent for Meer Jaffier, threw his turband at his feet, and told him with a moſt dejected countenance, "That it was he that muſt protect that "turband." * Whether this moved Meer Jaffier's compaſſion, or his politicks were to ſave appearances with both parties, is uncertain; but he did not offer to join us, only wrote the Colonel a note adviſing him to puſh forward, for that the battle was more than half won: In every thing elſe he ſtood neuter during the whole action.

Deſpondency had now taken ſuch poſſeſſion of the Soubah's ſoul, that he left the field at four in the evening on an elephant, and made ſuch haſte, that he was himſelf one of the firſt that carried the news of his defeat to the capital, which he reached that night. Meer Jaffier's troops retired ſlowly and regularly from the field of action, marching wide of the reſt of the Soubah's army; and halted a few miles from us. In the morning the Colonel ſent Omar Beg, a Moor-man particularly attached to Meer Jaffier, and Mr. Scrafton, to conduct him to Daudpore, where he halted that night. As ſoon as he ſaw the meſſengers, he advanced forward with his ſon to meet them; but was far from teſtifying that joy which might have been expected: Probably, bred up in the treacherous court of Allyvherde Caun, he harboured ſome ſuſpicion that the Colonel might reſent his conduct in not joining him conformably to his promiſes; for afterwards when the guards drew out to receive him as he paſſed, he ſtarted as if he thought it was all over with him; nor did his countenance brighten up, till the Colonel embraced him,

* To have the head uncovered is thought highly ſhameful in a man of rank.

and

and saluted him Soubah of the three provinces, advising him to hasten to the capital to prevent its being plundered, and to assume the title of Soubah, in which he would support him with all his force as soon as possible. We continued our joyful march towards the city, and had the pleasure to see the marks of our victory all through our route.—The plains being covered with cannon, trains of oxen, broken carriages, wounded horses, and among the rest an elephant found dead, sixteen miles from the field of battle, with two six pound shot lodged in his body.

Let us now follow Surajah Dowla. On his arrival at the city, he assembled all his great officers, to consult them on this unfortunate event: Some advised him to deliver himself up to the Colonel, against whom he could have no hope of success, having been twice defeated by him. This, which was the most prudent advice, his shallow judgment mistook for treachery. Others advised him to open his treasury to his army, and endeavour by great rewards to spirit them up to make another effort. He seemed to approve of this, immediately ordered three months pay to his army, and dismissed his council with assurances of his heading his troops again in the morning: But, when left by himself, he suffered all the pangs of adversity. His terrified imagination represented every one that approached him as a traitor that wanted to deliver him up: He abandoned himself to his fears, and, knowing not whom to trust, he disguised himself in a mean dress, and stole out of a window in the dead of night, with no attendants but one faithful eunuch.

Before Meer Jaffier could enter the palace, the women of the seraglio had broke loose from their confinement, and carried off jewels to an immense value; while

while the foldiery had broke into the treafury, and carried away great fums of gold. All was anarchy and confufion; the frightened inhabitants ftood in dreadful fufpenfe, expecting nothing but maffacre and defolation from a victorious army; till the arrival of Meffrs. Watts and Walfh, fent forward by the Colonel, and a proclamation iffued out, that Meer Jaffier was appointed Soubah by Colonel Clive, turned their fears to aftonifhment. This, with the news of the halt of our army on the twenty fifth and twenty fixth, reftored tranquillity to the city. Meer Jaffier, whether confcious how little he had contributed to our fuccefs, or that a Muffulman could not conceive fuch moderation, when we had the whole in our power, ftill doubted the reality of his exaltation, and it was with great difficulty that Mefirs. Watts and Walfh could prevail on him to act as Soubah.

On the twenty feventh the Colonel entered the city, with two hundred Europeans, and five hundred feapoys, and took up his quarters at a palace near the Soubah. Upon the Colonel's arrival, Jagutfeat, and feveral of the great men, anxious for their fate, fent their fubmiffion, with offers of large prefents, which the Colonel refufed, affuring them he defired nothing but their affiftance in fettling the government. The next day Meer Jaffier vifited the Colonel, and accompanied him in great pomp to Jagutfeat's houfe, where they fettled all money affairs.

I do not doubt, but that the fums ftipulated by the treaty muft appear immenfe to you; but it muft be obferved, it was the prevailing and univerfal notion, that Surajah Dowla had at leaft forty millions fterling in his treafury, in which we now found ourfelves widely deceived; the new Soubah making it evidently appear to us, that if we infifted on the immediate

payment

payment of the whole ſum, he would have nothing left wherewith to ſupport his dignity, or ſecure his power. The Colonel therefore, ſenſible it would tarniſh the glory of our ſucceſſes, ſhould we diſtreſs the Soubah at ſo critical a time, thought it more conſiſtent with the general intereſt to accept of one half by the laſt day of October, and to agree, that the remainder ſhould be paid within the compaſs of three years, by equal payments every ſix months. Beſides what was ſtipulated by the treaty, the Soubah was pleaſed to make a preſent to the Governor, the Colonel, Committee and Council, and thoſe who had moſt contributed to our wonderful ſucceſs; and, before they parted, the Soubah, the Colonel, Jagutſeat, and Roydullub, entered into a ſolemn engagement mutually to ſupport each other againſt all enemies whatſoever. And now all our ſuſpicions of the perfidiouſneſs of Surajah Dowla proved well founded; for we found in his ſecretary's hands, copies of letters to Meſſrs. Buſſey and Laws, in one of which, dated in February, a few days after his ſwearing a ſolemn peace with us, he preſſes Monſ. Buſſey to ſend him two thouſand men, under the command of truſty officers; and in another, invites him with his whole force into his country: And he writes to Mr. Laws, in April, to deſire him to come down immediately, for that he was determined to fall upon the Engliſh. Thus we ſee it was with no leſs juſtice than prudence, that we ſuſpected the Soubah's treachery; and it appears how neceſſary it was for us to have guarded againſt it, at a time when we wanted the full proofs victory now threw into our hands: For nothing can be more evident, than that if we had truſted to the flattering appearances he endeavoured to amuſe us with at the time of the tedious negociation that preceeded the battle

battle of Placis, we had certainly fallen the victims of our own credulity.

On the twenty ninth the Colonel went to the Soubah's palace, and, in presence of all the Rajahs and great men of the court, led him to his Musland; * and, in compliance with the custom of the country, made his submission to him as Soubah, by presenting him with a few pieces of gold, in which he was followed by all the great men present. From this time Meer Jaffier assumed the title of Mohabet Jung, ‡ and acted as Soubah of the three provinces. Now ensued a scene of triumph of a different kind.

The first fruit of our success, was the receipt of near a million sterling, which the Soubah paid us on the third of July, and was laden on board two hundred boats, part of the fleet that attended us in our march up, escorted by a detachment from the army. As soon as they entered the great river, they were joined by the boats of the squadron, and all together formed a fleet of three hundred boats, with music playing, drums beating, and colours flying, and exhibited to the French and Dutch, by whose settlements they passed, a scene far different from what they had beheld the year before, when the Nabob's fleet and army passed them, with the captive English, and all the wealth and plunder of Calcutta. Which scene gave them most pleasure, I will not presume to decide; nor will I attempt to convey an idea of the vast joy of our countrymen at Calcutta, when they heard of our victory.

While we were thus happy in our success, Surajah Dowla was travelling in disguise, like a miserable fugitive, towards Patna, where he hoped once more

* Carpet of state.

‡ *Terrible in war.*

to

to appear in arms; but being difcovered by the governor of Rajamaul, Meer Jaffier's brother, he was furrounded, and advice of it reaching the Soubah, he immediately fent his fon to take him prifoner, and bring him to the city, where he arrived on the fourth of July at night, unknown to the Colonel, and was privately put to death by the Soubah's order, who came in the morning to apologize for having taken fuch a ftep without confulting him, and to palliate an act which he was fenfible the Colonel would highly difapprove. It was not till many months after, that we became acquainted with all the circumftances of his death, which were as follows. On his arrival at the city, the Soubah held a council of his moft intimate friends, about the difpofal of him, who all agreed, that it would be dangerous to grant him his life, and that he fhould immediately be put to death, left the Colonel's clemency and moderation fhould plead for his prefervation. Surajah Dowla received the dreadful fentence trembling; he wept bitterly, and pleaded hard for life on any terms; but, when he found all intreaty in vain, he defired only a delay of a few moments to wafh and fay his prayers. His mercilefs executioners flung a pot of water over him, and difpatched him with their fwords. His remains were expofed on an elephant round the city, and then interred near the tomb of his grandfather.

Revenge feems glutted by fo tragical a cataftrophe, and compaffion for a while takes place. But though we may commiferate his unhappy fate, let us not forget how juftly he deferved it. From his firft obtaining power under his grandfather, he had ever made it fubfervient to ambition, revenge, and cruelty. His treacherous affaffination of Hoffein Cooley Caun, and his nephew; the wanton cruelty and injuftice of attacking

tacking the Engliſh, who, by the immenſe wealth they had yearly brought into the country, for a century paſt, had greatly contributed to its rich and flouriſhing ſtate, and certainly had done nothing to make them the objects of his reſentment; but above all, the death of the gentlemen in priſon, for which, though not occaſioned by his immediate order, when he was told of it in the morning, he teſtified no concern (and even then might have ſaved the lives of many who had ſome little life left in them, and might have been recovered by bleeding and proper care) but ſuffered, if he did not order them, to be thrown with the dead into the ditch; theſe cruelties called aloud for ſevere juſtice: and yet, I dare ſay, even theſe were far ſhort of what we ſhould have ſuffered, had he been conqueror at Placis; for there was found in his ſtandiſh, a liſt of thirteen of his courtiers whom he had doomed to death, and it is probable he would not have ſhewn more mercy to us. His ſhort reign of only one year was paſſed in war, and in fleecing and puniſhing thoſe, who, in the late reign, had been of his rival's party. He was rapacious, prodigal, and ambitious; but his ambition had neither valour nor wiſdom to ſupport it: Yet, unqualified as he was, it is thought he aimed at the conqueſt of Dehli and the whole empire, for he was preparing a magnificent throne, and intended ſhortly to have aſſumed the title of Shaw, or king.

Whoever reflects on this amazing revolution, muſt acknowledge the hand of providence in it. Our firſt calamity ſeemed like a final diſſolution, and the whole colony to be loſt irretrievably. Our enemy's contempt was then our ſecurity. But even when our forces arrived, what proſpect was there that ſuch a handful of men ſhould overcome ſuch numerous forces? forces thought ſufficient by their maſter to ſub-

vert

vert one of the moſt powerful governments of Aſia, and to ſecure to him the poſſeſſion of the throne of Aurengzebe. Who could then have been ſanguine enough to flatter himſelf with the hopes of ſeeing the wealth of the tyrant's capital, the fruits of many years eaſtern oppreſſion, transferred to that ſettlement he had ſo proudly overthrown but a few months before almoſt in an inſtant!

Theſe glorious ſucceſſes have brought near three millions ſterling to the nation; for, properly ſpeaking, almoſt the whole of the immenſe ſums received from the Soubah, finally centers in England. So great a proportion of it fell into the company's hands, either from their own ſhare, or by ſums paid into the treaſury at Calcutta for bills and receipts, that they have been enabled to carry on the whole trade of India, China excepted, for three years together, without ſending out one ounce of bullion. Vaſt ſums have been alſo remitted through the hands of foreign companies, which weigh in the balance of trade to their amount in our favour with ſuch foreign nations. And to theſe let me add, the miſchief done to our enemies the French, now totally driven out from thoſe ſettlements which were the only ſupport of their India trade.

Nothing was now wanting to complete our ſucceſs, but to get the Soubah confirmed from court; for the better obtaining of which the Colonel wrote a letter to the Emperor to the following purport, which was accompanied by another nearly in the ſame ſtrain from the Soubah; "That the Engliſh had "been long ſettled in theſe countries, by virtue of a "phirmaund from the emperor Furruckſeer; and Cal- "cutta was become a very great and populous place, "and its merchants carried on a trade which enriched "the

" the whole country ; that they had always lived in " perfect harmony and friendfhip with the Soubah of " the province, until the death of Mahabut Jung, " who was fucceeded by Surajah Dowla, who, even " before he had received the royal confirmation, with- " out any caufe or notice given, fell on the Englifh, " who, being deftitute of all the implements of war, " were entirely defeated ; that he took Calcutta and " plundered it on the twentieth of June 1756, and " put to death in one night all the great men, and " other Englifhmen, who fell into his hands ; that " Admiral Watfon and himfelf, both fervants of the " king of England, were come to revenge thefe in- " juries with a powerful army ; that they had re- " poffeffed themfelves of the ruins of Calcutta, and " drove his people from Houghly ; that Surajah Dowla, " priding himfelf in his numbers, came down againft " them with a great army, which, by the bleffing of " God, he totally defeated on the fifth of February " 1757 ; but, that reflecting how injurious war was " to his Majefty's dominions, he made peace with " him ; to the obfervance of which, Surajah Dowla, " fwore by God and his prophet Mahomet ; yet a " very few days being elapfed, regardlefs of his oath, " he joined with the enemies of the Englifh to deftroy " them ; that he, Colonel Clive, had feveral times " warned him of the fatal confequences of his un- " faithful conduct ; but that he fcorned his friendfhip, " and met him with a numerous army, over which " he, by the bleffing of God, obtained a complete vic- " tory on the plains of Placis, June 23, 1757 ; that " in the purfuit Surajah Dowla was killed, and, by " the confent of all the great men of the province, " Meer Jaffier was appointed to fucceed him, a man " juft and merciful, as his predeceffor was wicked,

" proud, and cruel, who implored his Majeſty to con-
" firm him in his dignity; that he had joined him
" with a powerful army, and, by the bleſſing of God,
" nothing ſhould be wanting to make the country
" flouriſh, and the people happy; that in the courſe
" of theſe troubles, nothing had been done to the in-
" jury of his Majeſty's dominions; and that he was
" ready, with his life, to obey his Majeſty's com-
" mands."

A revolution, ſo ſudden and unexpected, filled every one with terror and aſtoniſhment, which was kept up by the march of a conſiderable detachment, under the command of Capt. Coote, in purſuit of Monſ. Laws, who marched from Patna at the head of an hundred French, the only remains of that nation in all the three provinces, to the aſſiſtance of the late Soubah, and were within a few hours march of him when he was taken priſoner; but they returned on Capt. Coote's approach, who followed them till they had paſſed the boundaries of the Soubah's dominions. The Nabob of Patna was one Ramnaran, a Gentoo, faithfully attached to his late maſter, who, ſuppoſing Meer Jaffier would not confirm him in his government, was meditating a junction with the Soubah of Oude, the ſon of the late viſir, whoſe territories border on thoſe of Patna. There was ſuch evident proof of this, that Colonel Clive adviſed the Soubah to diſplace him, which was approved, accepted, and the order ſent; but different paſſions now began to operate, and the Nabob, from ſome unknown motive, determined to effect his purpoſe by other means.

Whoever conſiders human nature will eaſily perceive, that the harmony between the Soubah and us was liable to many interruptions. As the brute creation retain no longer their affections for their pa-

rents

rents than while they need their help to nouriſh them, ſo the Soubah, now feeling his own ſtrength, forgot the authors of his greatneſs. He ſeemed to look on us rather as rivals than allies; and his firſt thoughts were, how to check our power, and evade the execution of the treaty. In vain did the Colonel repreſent to him, that, inſtead of draining his treaſury for keeping ſuch an immenſe army on foot, he had better diſmiſs one half of them, and rely on the Engliſh, who were his natural allies, bound to him by mutual intereſt, and every tie that could enforce our inviolable attachment. He formed his plan quite differently, and ſeemed to think himſelf ſufficiently powerful to diſpute with us the remainder of the treaty; and to this he bent all his future politics, the natural conſequence of which was, that we were neceſſitated to ſtrengthen ourſelves, by forming a party in his own court to be a continual check upon him, a matter by no means difficult in a country where loyalty and gratitude are virtues almoſt unknown. I have before mentioned Roydullub as cloſely connected with Meer Jaffier, and a fellow conſpirator of equal rank; ſuch connections are ſeldom permanent: He thought the Soubah had not rewarded him according to his merit, and the Soubah thought him too craving. In all, but more eſpecially in thoſe eaſtern courts, jealouſy is a weed that grows apace. Sycophants and hungry minions nouriſh it with lies and whiſpers, and live under its ſhade. The Colonel entered into ſtrict engagements with this man, to protect him as far as life and honour, provided he attempted nothing againſt the Soubah's perſon or government; and he promiſed to uſe all the power and intereſt his poſts gave him, to oblige the Soubah to the faithful execution of the articles of the treaty. The

close connection which appeared between us, widened the breach between them, till mutual miftruft increafed to that pitch, that each began to ftrengthen his party. Roydullub endeavoured to gain the officers of the army to him; and the Soubah difmiffed from his court all thofe who had fhewed too great an attachment to a minifter he had made too powerful; for he was firft Treafurer, Pay-mafter of the troops, and general of a large body of horfe and foot, and his brother and relations occupied the moft beneficial employs at court. Thefe made him powerful; but it was the Englifh protection that made him formidable to his mafter. But the feafon now approached for taking the field; and in October 1757, the Soubah fixed his ftandard to the north, with great expectations of rendering himfelf as powerful and arbitrary as his old mafter Allyvherde, whofe example he endeavoured to imitate in his government. He had projected a very extenfive plan, to which he was by no means equal. Firft, he propofed the deftruction of Roydullub and his party. Secondly, to crufh the rebellion broke out in Purhunea, where the late Governor refufed to own his authority. Thirdly, by force or ftratagem to get the Nabob of Patna into his power, and give that province to his brother. And having made himfelf thus powerful, he finally propofed to awe the Englifh into the relinquifhing the remainder of the money due to them, and the other articles ftipulated by the treaty. This project opened with the death of Mirza Mundeë, Surajah Dowla's brother, a weak helplefs youth, whom his fpies and parafites had infinuated to him Roydullub intended to fet up for Soubah. The fame jealoufy induced him to fend the widow of Allyvherde into confinement at Dacca; and a ftrict watch was kept over an infant-fon left by Fazel Cooley Caun,

Caun, the ſon of Zaindë Hamet, whom Nowagis Mahumud Caun adopted, and who died ſome years before, leaving this only child, called Morada Dowla.

Theſe ſteps ſo alarmed Roydullub, that, under pretence of ſickneſs, he abſented himſelf from court, and declined taking the field with the Soubah. This was the firſt obſtacle the Soubah met with; and now he began to apprehend, that, ſhould he march from his capital, it was poſſible the Colonel, penetrating his view, might join with Roydullub, and attack his ſon, whom he left governor in his abſence. He long heſitated what part to act with the Colonel; but at laſt determined writing to him, to deſire him to march up with his troops, hoping either to awe him by the parade of his numerous forces, or win him by profitable offers to abandon Roydullub. The Colonel, ſenſible how eaſy it was to check him in his flight, let him go on in his airy ideas, contenting himſelf with giving frequent hints, that he ſaw what he was aiming at; but always aſſured him he would find, in the end, his true intereſt was to preſerve the friendſhip of the Engliſh, by a ſtrict adherence to the treaty, for that it was them, and them only, that were able to ſupport him: But now that he ſaw the Soubah's jealouſy was incurable, he determined to check him effectually. Force alone could not effect this; for the debauchery introduced by the prize-money of Placis, and the unwholſomneſs of the climate, had reduced our fine army to about four hundred and fifty Europeans, and twelve hundred ſeapoys; policy was therefore deemed a neceſſary ally.

With this ſmall force, and the name of Clive, we took the field in November, and were joined by Roydullub, whoſe political ſickneſs vaniſhed at the approach of our army. At their firſt interview, the Colonel reproached the Soubah with his weak and

 unfaithful

unfaithful conduct; reminded him of the agreement entered into at Jagutſeat's houſe, declaring himſelf Roydullub's protector; and demanded ſecurity for the payment of the remainder of the treaty-money, of which even the firſt half was not yet paid, although the time was elapſed for the firſt payment of the ſecond half. The Soubah now felt his chains, and found, that the more he ſtruggled, the cloſer they ſat. After many vain attempts, by threats and careſſes, to ſhake the Colonel's conſtancy, he at laſt, with a very ill grace, made over to the company the revenues of the three provinces of Burdwan, Nuddea, and Houghly, for the remainder of the treaty-money; and then the two armies marched forward. At this place the Colonel entertained the Soubah with a review of our little army, to which he came in great ſtate, in a car drawn by two elephants, accompanied by two of his children and ſeveral of his courtiers. The troops went through all their firings and evolutions with great briſkneſs and regularity; and the Soubah ſeemed loſt in amazement, at the quickneſs and uniformity of their motions; but nothing ſtruck him ſo much as the quick firing of the field pieces, which, he ſaid, exceeded every thing he could poſſibly have imagined; and he was altogether ſo well pleaſed with his entertainment, that he ordered ten thouſand rupees to be diſtributed among them, for which the ſoldiers returned him their thanks, by three Engliſh huzzas. This review had a very good effect, by pointing out to the Soubah, how irreſiſtable ſuch a cloſe compact body of infantry, where every man is ſure of being aſſiſted by his neighbour, is to the looſe irregular attacks of a confuſed multitude, where no man has any reliance, but on the ſtrength of his arm.

I heard the Soubah diſcourſing of this review amongſt his courtiers; and, after expreſſing his admiration, ſaid,

"These

" These people are not to be fought with at a diſtance; " but if we were to ruſh on them with our ſabres, " we ſhould bear them down;" but he did not diſcern, that they have no principle powerful enough to unite them together for ſuch an impetuous attack. Military diſcipline is ſo contradictory to the genius and conſtitution of the people, that neither example nor experience can ever make them capable of it; and the common apprehenſion of our teaching the Indians to beat us, is without the leaſt foundation. It is not that they want natural courage, but they have no motive to ſpur them on to danger, except the example of their leader, who is always mounted on an elephant, equally conſpicuous to his own men and our field pieces, and his death is ſure to be followed by the flight of his troops. Colonel Clive has indeed made uſe of this principle to great advantage, in diſciplining our ſeapoys, by forming them into battalions, under the command of the beſt of our officers; ſince which they have, on ſeveral occaſions, proved little inferior to Europeans. On the approach of our united forces, the rebels of Purhunea diſperſed, and the Soubah made his brother-in-law, Coſſim Hoſſein Caun, Nabob of that province, and then marched towards Patna, hoping by force or ſtratagem to get Ramnaran into his power, and make his brother Nabob of that province; but neither ſcheme ſucceeded. Ramnaran had taken the field with a very conſiderable army, and could not be prevailed on to truſt himſelf in the Soubah's power, till he was aſſured of the Colonel's protection. The Soubah was very averſe to this, but ſoon found, that Roydullub had won over the greateſt part of his officers, who were more likely to eſpouſe Ramnaran's cauſe than his own. He at laſt conſented to the Colonel's mediation, which he gladly granted,

 from

from the motive that it would be a conſtant check on the Soubah, to have the Nabob of Patna devoted to us.

He therefore, at the Soubah's requeſt, wrote Ramnaran, that he might come with ſafety. The Colonel's reputation for the inviolable obſervance of his word, was ſuch, that Ramnaran immediately left his army, and came with a few followers to the Engliſh camp. He then went, accompanied by Mr. Watts, to pay his ſubmiſſion to the Soubah, who received him with a conſtrained graciouſneſs, and his army joined the reſt in their route to Patna.

The Soubah, who burnt with deſire to free himſelf from our yoke, now formed a project, from which he hoped ſome relief. He ordered Coja Haddeë, a general who commanded ſixteen thouſand men, to make a forced march, and enter the city before our army, which had always been the van of the whole. This officer was much ſuſpected of an attachment to Roydullub, and therefore the Soubah aimed at embroiling him in a ſkirmiſh with us, indifferent who had the advantage, where he wanted to be rid of both. He accordingly gave him orders, that when he entered the city, he ſhould ſhut the gates, and permit no troops to enter the city without farther orders. Coja Haddeë not perceiving the ſnare, paſſed our army in proper order for action. When he Colonel came near the city, he ſent word to Coja Haddeë, that the Soubah had laid this ſnare to deſtroy him, and adviſed him not to oppoſe him, as he was determined to enter. Coja Haddeë immediately retired, and ſent the Soubah a meſſage that he preſumed his orders could not regard his friend Sabut Jung *, whom he had let

* The title conferred on Colonel Clive by the court of Dehli. It means *the proud warrior.*

pass,

pafs. The Colonel marched through the city, and encamped on the oppofite fide. The Soubah followed with fullen flownefs, mortified at his difappointment, and enraged to fee the Colonel carrying away the glory of the campaign, while himfelf appeared only as his general. And now enfued a fcene of plots and confpiracies, wherein the feveral actors difplayed the arts of treachery and diffimulation with all the refined fubtlety of eaftern politicians.

I have already mentioned, the Soubah's views this campaign were, to break the power of the minifter; make his brother Nabob of Patna; oblige the Rajahs of that rebellious province to fubmit to him; and, finally, to awe the Englifh into the relinquifhing of the treaty-money. Let us now fee how the different parties endeavoured to counteract him.

Ramnaran and Roydullub foon found they were tending to the fame center, which was the deftruction of a mafter they thought they could never truft. Coja Haddeë, Coffim Ally Caun, and moft of the general officers, were of their party, and entered into a written agreement to fupport each other. They frequently founded Colonel Clive, and endeavoured, by every artifice and ftratagem, to fet him at open variance with the Soubah; while their party at court acted the fame part with the Soubah, by continually infinuating to him, that the Colonel was won over by Roydullub and Ramnaran, and would certainly attempt his life. While the Soubah's mind was thus agitated by fufpicions of all parties, an accident happened, that almoft brought every body to lay afide the mafk, and act in their real characters. Colonel Clive kept his head-quarters at the Englifh factory, the army being encamped to the weftward of Patna; the Nabob's camp was to the eaftward, but a vaft number of his troops

were

were in the city, as were alfo Ramnaran's; and with the Colonel was a guard of two hundred feapoys. Near the factory was quartered a body of Ramnaran's horfe, and both ufed the fame market. A difpute arofe between them, which from words came to blows, and fome of the Colonel's feapoys were wounded. They came to complain, and the Colonel permitted them to go and take their own revenge. They immediately fallied out, and attacked the horfemen, whom they foon routed, and one or two of them were killed. The alarm fpread inftantly throughout the city; all parties were in arms; fpies were running backwards and forwards over the city; every one making a different report, according to the fears or wifhes of their mafter. The Soubah, who had his head-quarters in a palace on the eaftern fide of the city, immediately fufpected Colonel Clive, Ramnaran and Roydullub, were forming a defign to attack him. Full of this thought, he inftantly put his women, papers, and jewels, on elephants, fent a party to fecure his retreat, and put all his troops under arms. Roydullub and Ramnaran were alfo under arms, and it was a miracle the city was not fired and plundered. But as the rife of this diforder was entirely accidental, fo nobody was prepared to take any advantage of it; and, by the intercourfe of meffengers, the tumult fubfided, and every one fheltered himfelf under the cloak of diffimulation; firft reflecting, whether they had done any thing in the firft heat of the alarm that might have betrayed their fentiments? The next morning all the grandees vifited Colonel Clive; and the commander of the horfe, whofe people had begun the fkirmifh with the Englifh feapoys, was ordered out of the city. The Soubah lived in continual apprehenfions, but the Colonel was too fteady to be led aftray by any of them: His honour, and the public intereft, ftrongly

ſtrongly attached him to the Soubah; though at the ſame time, it was our intereſt to reduce his power to proper limits, which nothing could more effectually reſtrain, than ſupporting Ramnaran in the Nabobſhip of Patna, and Roydullub in the miniſtry; and juſt ſo far he entered into their views. The Rajahs refuſed to pay their ſubmiſſions but through the mediation of the Colonel, which the Soubah was too haughty to accept; and the cloſe connection between Ramnaran and Roydullub, both ſupported by us, prevented the reſt. Thus the Soubah, equally miſtruſting, and miſtruſted of all, had the mortification to ſee all his projects vaniſh. The only ſatisfaction he had, was the receiving his confirmation from Dehli, on the ſame terms as Allyvherde Caun; which were, the payment of fifty two lacks per annum, with the uſual preſents of elephants, cloth, etc. The Colonel at the ſame time received the dignity of an Omrah of the empire, and the title of Zubdut Ulmulk Nuſſeera Dowla, Sahbut Jung Bahader *, though the charters for holding it did not arrive till ſome time after.

When the Soubah found that all his endeavours to win the Colonel were in vain, he endeavoured to outſtay him, hoping his preſence would be required in Calcutta, and that he would be obliged to abandon his friends to him: But even that proving ineffectual, he, at laſt, after a ſtay of four months, at an immenſe expence, was obliged to confirm Ramnaran in the Nabobſhip of Patna, Roydullub in the miniſtry, and to return to his capital, totally diſappointed in all his views; whilſt the Colonel not only got the provinces mortgaged to the company for the remainder of the treaty, but obtained alſo the farm of ſalt-

* *The perfection of the empire, the ſword of victory, the proved intrepid warrior.*

petre,

petre, which was before farmed out to one of the natives, on condition of their paying the Soubah forty thousand rupees per annum, and filled the province with admiration of his wise conduct, and steady adherence to all whose interest he espoused, which, we shall hereafter see, was of signal service to him. The Colonel arrived at Muxadavad the first of June, where he was met by Major Forde, whom the gentlemen of Calcutta had persuaded to enter into the company's service, and to him he left the command of the army, and proceeded himself to Calcutta, where he was received with every demonstration of the sincerest joy.

I have been so taken up with the political transactions, that I have omitted to mention, in its proper place, the death of Mr. Watson, who died in August, much lamented by the fleet and settlement, and whose memory will be ever revered for his generous and disinterested conduct. The public loss was indeed in a great measure alleviated, by the command devolving on so brave and capable an officer as Mr. Pocock, who left the river with the squadron in February.

Hitherto we had met with a continued series of success, which now seemed for a while suspended, by the arrival of the French fleet on the coast of Coromandel, commanded by Monf. d'Aché, with three thousand Europeans on board, under the command of Lieutenant General Lally and many officers of the first distinction in France; a force, which seemed to threaten the destruction of all our settlements in India. In this danger, our sole reliance was on the vigilance and bravery of our fleet; and happily we were not deceived. Mr. Pocock, though much inferior in force, sought the first opportunity to engage them, while yet very few of their men were landed. The engagement

gagement was very bloody to the French, and, but for ſome untoward circumſtances, would have ended in the ruin of their fleet and army; but night favoured their eſcape, and they got ſafe into Pondicherry, with the loſs of only one 64 gun ſhip, and upwards of five hundred men killed and wounded, as appeared by an intercepted letter from the French ſecretary.

This did not prevent the loſs of Fort St. David's; and we had now little hope of receiving ſuccours from England. The Directors, by the ſame letters that adviſed us of this force ſailing from France, gave their Governors abroad to underſtand, that they left them to the protection of Providence; for that the breaking out of the war with France rendered it impracticable to ſend out any conſiderable forces this year. At this criſis, when military virtue and unanimity were more immediately neceſſary, the Directors, divided by violent conteſts among themſelves, which certainly did them no honour, were ſo unfortunate in their judgments as to appoint four governors of Bengal, to govern each four months, and left Colonel Clive entirely out of the liſt. The abſurdity of ſuch a ſyſtem was too apparent to take place. The gentlemen named to this temporary honour, with great diſintereſtedneſs declined it, and joined with the whole ſettlement in requeſting Colonel Clive to take the government on himſelf. The Colonel, thus ſlighted, might have returned to his native country, and there enjoyed his immenſe and honourably acquired fortune; but, his patriotic ſpirit, and regard for the public welfare, prevailed over private reſentment, and on the twenty-third of June 1758, the anniverſary of the victory of Placis, he entered upon the government, to the great joy of every one.

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The arrival of the French ſquadron, and the loſs of Fort St. David's, had an inſtant effect on our influence in the country. The Colonel conſidering, that if the Soubah could be prevailed on to pay him a viſit in Calcutta, it would deceive our enemies into a firm perſuaſion, that there ſubſiſted a perfect amity between us, ſent Mr. Watts to him with the invitation, which he readily accepted. I muſt here do the Soubah the juſtice to ſay, that, however jealous of the Engliſh power, he has ever ſhewn a ſincere regard for the Colonel.

This outward appearance of harmony was equally neceſſary to the Soubah, as it was our alliance alone which made him formidable to his neighbours; but, obſerving how much we courted his friendſhip, he thought he might now execute his deſigns againſt Roydullub. He left the city under charge of his ſon, firſt diſmiſſing his miniſter from all his employments; and, to all appearance, left an order with his ſon to put him to death; for no ſooner was his father out of his ſight, than he prepared to attack him: But, as our reputation and influence in the country entirely depended on our protecting him in his life and honour, Mr. Scrafton, then reſident at the Nabob's court, marched a company of men to his aſſiſtance, and took him under his protection. The Soubah, who was very little advanced on his way, was alarmed at this, and ſeemed determined to return; but Mr. Watts had addreſs enough, not only to perſuade him to continue his journey, but to let Roydullub come down to Calcutta: The Soubah was glad he had carried his point ſo far as to have diſmiſſed him from his poſt, without our reſenting it; and the Colonel was pleaſed to have kept his word, which extended no further than the protection of his life and honour. The Soubah was moſt magnificently entertain-

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ed, had very great presents made him, returned well satisfied to his capital, and left Roydullub in Calcutta.

This visit had the desired effect: The French, as well as the Soubah's enemies, conjectured, if they attempted any thing against Bengal, they should find our united forces against them. The French were now so powerful on the coast of Coromandel, having at least four thousand Europeans and six thousand seapoys, that we began to fear for Madrass.—I before mentioned, that the French had an army in the Decan, from which country they drew a considerable revenue. The Colonel, apprehensive they might add that army to their other forces, boldly resolved, against the unanimous opinion of his council, to send a great part of our force into that country, with a view to make a diversion that might call off part of the French force from the coast of Coromandel. For that purpose Major Forde embarked with four hundred and twenty Europeans, and one thousand four hundred Seapoys, with a suitable train of artillery, and amply provided with stores of all kinds, and landed at Vizagapatam, the Rajah of that country having desired our assistance against the French.

The departure of so great a part of our force made the Soubah more haughty in his conduct. He had lately cut off two of his general officers, Coja Hadjee and Cossim Ally Caun, whom I have before mentioned to be of Roydullub's party. The former he ordered out of the country, and in his passage through the pass of Sicklagully, he ordered the mountaineers and governor of Rajamail to fall on him; the other his son assassinated at an entertainment. And now he sent a forged letter, to prove, that Roydullub was concerned with them in a conspiracy to murder him; but the forgery was evidently proved, and the Colonel persevered

vered in protecting him. The Soubah seemed inclined to resent this protection, and hinted, that he expected the mortgaged provinces should be restored to him; but the news of Colonel Forde's success checked him for the present. That brave and experienced officer, with his small army, defeated the French army commanded by the Marquis de Conflans, consisting of five hundred Europeans and six thousand disciplined seapoys; and continued his pursuit of them towards Masulipatam, the French capital of Golconda.

But now a new scene opened. The Mogul's son had escaped from the hands of the Vizir, who kept the Emperor himself and all his family as a kind of state prisoners, and appeared in arms on the frontiers of the province of Bahar. The Soubah had lately given such proofs of his inclination to avoid all farther connections with us, that he apprehended the Colonel would not be very ready to assist him; and therefore declined, as long as possible, acquainting him with the threatened invasion: but, like a slothful man, who is not sensible of his weakness till occasion requires him to put his strength to the trial, now that the exigency of his affairs demanded he should exert himself, he found how little able he was to cope with an enemy. The immense forces he had kept up to no manner of purpose, having eighty thousand men at least in his pay, had quite exhausted his treasury, and vast arrears were still due to them: Far from assisting him, they even threatened his life, if he did not immediately comply with their demands: All he could do was to satisfy a part of them, who took the field under his son's command, and might be about four thousand horse and as many foot. In the mean time the Prince, or Shahzada, had crossed the Carumnassa, which is the boundary of Bahar, where he was joined by the Soubah

bah of Oude's brother and fome of the Boujepore Rajahs, and was on full march towards Patna at the head of forty thoufand men, with Monf. Laws and his little party of a hundred French and two hundred Seapoys. Ramnaran thought this was the opportunity for him to throw off his obedience to Meer Jaffier, and feemed determined to declare for the Shazahda. Thus every thing looked as if the Soubah would lofe his life and government, without a fword being drawn in his behalf. In this diftrefs he at laft applied to Colonel Clive, now confirmed governor by the company's appointment.

The company's affairs were now in almoft as critical a fituation as the Soubah's. The fiege of Madrafs was actually begun, and we had fent thither part of the forces that came out in this year's fhipping; fo that our whole force was but three hundred infantry, one hundred train, and two thoufand five hundred feapoys, moft of whom had never feen an action. Neverthelefs, the Colonel hefitated not a moment, but immediately began his march to Muxadavad, where he arrived on the twentieth of March. He reproached the Soubah feverely for his weak, unfteady conduct, particularly for the manner in which he had deftroyed his two general officers, which had quite alienated the affections of his army from him, and for his late behaviour to the Englifh; but affured him, he might rely on his utmoft endeavours to extricate him from the difficulties he was involved in, and that himfelf and all his army would fight for him to the laft man. The Colonel immediately continued his march, and the Soubah promifed to follow in a few days. All parties had their eyes fixed on the Colonel. The Shahzada invited him preffingly to join him, offering him

 a fhare

a ſhare in the government, and any advantages he pleaſed to aſk on behalf of the company; and, flattering himſelf the Colonel might be brought over to him, he would not bring Law's party with him, but left them at Benares, leſt it ſhould diſguſt the Colonel. The Nabob of Patna, not hearing of the Colonel's march, had entered into a treaty with the Shahzada, by which he promiſed to declare for him, on condition, that the Shahzada confirmed him in his Nabobſhip, and that his army ſhould not enter the city: This was agreed to, and Ramnaran came out of the city, paid his ſubmiſſion to the Shahzada, and made him a preſent of a conſiderable ſum of money. The Shahzada's army paſſed the city, and encamped towards Bengal; and a day or two after, he ſent to Ramnaran for ſome more money and the city cannon. The meſſengers affected the haughty airs of conquerors, to which Ramnaran was not inclined to ſubmit, as he had now heard of the Colonel's march, and indeed had received a letter from him to this purport, "That as it was by his mediation he had "been confirmed in his government, he looked on "himſelf as reſponſible to the Soubah for his fidelity; "that if he offered to ſwerve from his duty, he "ſhould feel his utmoſt reſentment; that he was "marching towards him with all expedition, and flattered himſelf, that the ſame Providence which had "bleſſed him with victory on ſo many occaſions, "would not now forſake him." Intimidated by this letter, and full of the hopes of a ſpeedy relief, he turned the Prince's meſſengers out of the city, and ſhut the gates againſt him. The Shahzada, ſurpriſed and enraged at this ſudden change, immediately began the ſiege. The Colonel's approach made all parties act

with

with vigour. The Prince made ſeveral aſſaults, and was very near carrying the place, when the appearance of our army, which had marched four hundred miles in three and twenty days, obliged him to raiſe the ſiege; on which his army, which had been brought together only by the hopes of plunder, diſperſed, leaving him only the Soubah of Oude's brother, and a few horſe, who made the beſt of their way out of the province. Thus was the Soubah once more indebted to us for his life and government, both which muſt have inevitably fallen, but for this vigorous effort; for ſo little able was he to ſupport himſelf, that, far from joining us, his troops ſurrounded him, and refuſed to march, till they had all their arrears, and two months pay advanced them. And even the few forces that marched with his ſon, made a dead halt when we drew near the enemy, and would not advance a ſtep without their arrears, ſo that had the enemy ſtood, we muſt have borne the whole brunt of the action with our little army; but the name of CLIVE ſtruck ſuch a terror into them, that they would not abide his coming, though they were now joined by the French (whom the Shahzada had ſent for when he deſpaired of winning the Colonel over to him) and muſt have taken the place, had they continued another day before it, for though Monſ. Laws's party was ſo trifling, it was ſufficient to have carried one of the city towers, at which the whole army might have entered: But ſuch was the reputation of our arms, that though they had repeated and certain intelligence of the ſmall number of our forces, they thought it folly to offer to contend with us. Nor is this aſtoniſhing to thoſe who know what ſtrong fataliſts theſe eaſtern people are, who look on fighting againſt a fortunate man, as contending

with GOD HIMSELF. When you tell them of a ſucceſsful commander, they never aſcribe his ſucceſſes to any human virtue, but lift up their eyes, and ſay, "A happy fate attends him;" and when once a man has gained the reputation of being ſortunate, nothing ſeems deſperate in their eyes.

On the tenth of April, the Colonel entered Patna in triumph, and received the thanks and congratulations of all ranks of perſons there. But to Meer Jaffier the news was as the gift of life to a condemned man: His troops that had ſurrounded him, and ſeemed to rejoice in his adverſity, were now as ſervile as they had been inſolent before; but they ſoon felt his reſentment, by the diſmiſſion of the greateſt part of them from his ſervice, convinced at laſt that he might rely on the Engliſh. During our march, we had the pleaſure to hear of Monſ. Lally's retreat from Madraſs, after a ſiege of ſixty-ſeven days. Were it not foreign to my ſubject, I could, with pleaſure, dwell on the gallant actions of Governor Piggot, Colonels Laurence and Draper, Meſſieurs Brereton, Monſon, Caillaud, Preſton and other gentlemen, both of the King's and Company's troops, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in that brave defence.

This good news was ſoon followed by that of the aſtoniſhing ſucceſs of the expedition under Major Forde. That intrepid officer, after ſtruggling through many difficulties, in a long march through an enemy's country, and in want of money, at laſt appeared before Maſulipatam, with his little army, now reduced to three hundred and fifty Europeans, and one thouſand two hundred ſeapoys. He found it a city fortified after the European manner, ſurrounded by a ſalt moraſs, and defended by the Marquis de Conſlans, with four hundred fifty regulars, a hundred citizens and other Europeans, and ſix

thouſand

thoufand difciplined feapoys. At the fame time, the Soubah of the Decan was marching to the relief of it, at the head of an immenfe army of his own, and a party of two hundred Frenchmen ; and before he had made any progrefs in the fiege, the Soubah was advanced fo near, that Major Forde, finding he could not retreat without rifking his whole army, defperately refolved to affault the place, though there was no way of approaching it, but through a morafs waift-deep. Under all thefe difadvantages he attempted it, and was fuccefsful, though with the lofs of a fourth part of his little army. The Marquis and five hundred and twenty two Frenchmen were taken prifoners ; and the Soubah of the Decan, not caring to contend with a conqueror, returned. To add more to the Major's fucceffes, two days after the place was taken, there appeared two French fhips in the road, with four hundred and fifty men on board, for the relief of the place, who feeing Englifh colours flying, thought fit to fail away; and the feafon not permitting their return to Pondicherry, they landed at Ganjam, where they were furrounded by the country Rajahs, who fo reduced them by famine and fkirmifhing, that very few efcaped to Pondicherry, fo that this expedition all together coft the French a thoufand Europeans. All our affairs being fo happily circumftanced, Colonel Clive, at the Soubah's requeft, marched to punifh thofe Rajahs, who had joined the Shahzada. Thefe Rajahs are fo powerful, by the nature of their country, that they had never been thoroughly fubdued, and had always been formidable to the Nabobs of Patna. When we drew near their country, two of them, intimidated by the reputation of our arms, came and made their fubmiffion, and were obliged to pay the Soubah all the revenues due from them for feveral years paft. The third, who had been

been more guilty, kept aloof, and we were obliged to follow him amidſt his rocks and mountains, expoſed to the moſt terrible heats that ever Europeans underwent; but he was preſſed ſo cloſe, that at laſt, he was obliged to ſubmit under very ſevere terms.

The unfortunate Shahzada, whoſe amiable character deſerved a better fate, ſoon perceived the Colonel was the only obſtacle to his ſucceſs; and, having found he was not to be allured by the flattering proſperity that for ſome time attended him, endeavoured now to make an impreſſion on him by his misfortunes. He repreſented to the Colonel, in a very pathetic letter, the peculiar wretchedneſs of his fate; "That, though born to a crown, the perſecution of the "Vizir had left him not a ſpot to reſt on; that he had no "intentions againſt Meer Jaffier's life or government; that "all he aimed at, was an army to make head againſt the "Vizir; and, that if it pleaſed God to favour his cauſe, "the Colonel might command any advantages for the com-"pany or himſelf." This the Colonel communicated to the Soubah's ſon and Ramnaran, who both agreed it would be dangerous to have a prince of the blood in any of the provinces; that he would prove a conſtant ſource of plots and conſpiracies againſt the Soubah; would draw on him the reſentment of the Vizir, and finally involve the country in continual troubles. The Colonel therefore ſent back the meſſenger with a reſpectful letter and a preſent of five hundred gold mohurs. * His behaviour ſo charmed the prince, that he ſent him word, he would force himſelf under his protection and dare him to deliver him up; but the Colonel was neceſſitated to anſwer, that he acted under the Soubah's orders, and would therefore by no means adviſe him to put himſelf in his power. The unhappy Shahzada was obliged to ſeek ſome other refuge;

* About £. 1000 ſterling.

and

and the Colonel, to intimidate the neighbouring powers ſrom ever diſturbing the Soubah again, thought fit to ſhew his reſentment to Sujah Dowla †, by writing to him, "That, as he could not but know, the inviolable friend-"ſhip ſubſiſting between him and Meer Jaffier, he wonder-"ed he ſhould preſume to ſend forces into his country; "that if he ſtill perſiſted in ſentiments of enmity, he ſhould "own it frankly, and he would march up again after the "rains, and appeal to the deciſion of the ſword." This letter, though addreſſed to as powerful and haughty a prince as any in the eaſt, had its full effect, and produced a very ſubmiſſive anſwer.

In July, after leaving a detachment of a hundred Europeans, and a thouſand ſeapoys, to awe the late ſubmitted Rajahs, the Colonel returned to Muxadavad, where he was received with the moſt unfeigned joy by the Soubah, and gazed at with awful reſpect, by all his people. The Soubah acknowledged, he once more owed his life and government to him. And as a token of his gratitude and eſteem, conferred on him the Lordſhip of the lands held by the Company, who are only perpetual renters, by which the Company, as hereditary landholders, pay him the revenues due to the Soubah, amounting to about thirty thouſand pounds ſterling per annum, which revenues they had for two years before, paid to the Soubah himſelf, being the time they had been put into poſſeſſion of thoſe lands. This was given him as a revenue to ſupport the dignity of an Omrah of the Empire, for which he is ſuppoſed to maintain ſix thouſand men, and, in the country language, is called a Jaghire, a tenure not

† Sujah Dowla, is Soubah of the next provinces to the north eaſt, called the Soubahſhip of Oude. He is ſon of the late Vizir Menſur Ali Caun, and is the moſt formidable Soubah of India, with reſpect to the goodneſs of his troops, but he is not rich.

unlike

unlike Knight's ſervice, by which lands were held formerly in England.

By this ſucceſsful campaign, tranquillity ſeemed to be perfectly reſtored, the Soubah more firmly ſeated in his government, and the friendſhip between him and the Engliſh cemented.

Before I cloſe the ſcene of thoſe glorious ſucceſſes, let me take a view of the figure the Engliſh made at this period. No longer conſidered as mere merchants, they were now thought the umpires of Indoſtan. So great was the reputation of our arms, that the Viſir himſelf preſſed the Colonel, by his agents, to march up to Dehli; and the Emperor ſent him an elephant, a veſt of honour, and a tiara, which is the uſual preſent to perſons of the higheſt rank. We were not only eſteemed for our military atchievements, but alſo for the ſteady and inviolable attachment we had ſhown to the Soubah and all thoſe whoſe cauſe we had eſpouſed, which made them ſet the higheſt value on our friendſhip. Wherever the Colonel went, he eſtabliſhed ſuch a character for bravery, ſteadineſs and moderation, as made him univerſally reſpected and beloved. But theſe are merely honorary advantages. Thoſe of a more laſting nature, are apparent in the preſent proſperous ſtate of the Company's affairs. The Company, before this time, has received the whole of that immenſe ſum of one million two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling, ſtipulated by the treaty; is in poſſeſſion of a tract of land, which yields a clear revenue of a hundred thouſand pounds ſterling per annum, and will, probably, in a few years be raiſed to twice that ſum; enjoys a flouriſhing trade; ſees their whole ſettlement changed from a ſtate of miſerable poverty, to a ſcene of magnificence; and a great progreſs made in the ſtructure of a fortification, which, when completed, will,

will, with prudent management, ſecure thoſe advantages down to the lateſt poſterity.

On the other hand, the French are driven entirely out of thoſe provinces; their fine ſettlement of Chandernagore is laid level with the earth; the inhabitants are diſperſed; and that once flouriſhing place is ſo totally ruined, that fifty years peace would hardly recover it, ſhould the Soubah ever permit them to reſettle it. And by the happy ſucceſs of Colonel Forde's expedition, they have not now a foot of land even in thoſe provinces, which, till then, yielded them a revenue of four hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, out of which they maintained a great force, and remitted yearly a large ſum to Pondicherry. Theſe circumſtances will, it is apprehended, greatly conduce to the fall of that place, which is all that is wanting to crown our ſucceſs and ruin the French Eaſt India Company, it is probable, for ever.

If this account, which has been the amuſement of my leiſure hours in a long India voyage, ſhould meet your approbation, I ſhall think my trouble amply rewarded; and if it will be of any ſervice, I ſhall readily give you my ſentiments on the meaſures which are proper to be taken at this juncture, for ſettling the Eaſt India affairs on a laſting foundation.

I am, etc.